This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

36.
45.

A

HISTORY OF SLAVERY,

AND ITS ABOLITION.

By ESTHER COPLEY.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION,

DEPOSITORY, 60, PATERNOSTER ROW;

And Sold by the Booksellers.

1836.

4 5.

36.

45.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

Introduction—Design of the work . . . . . 1—3

SECTION I.

THE NATURE OF SLAVERY—Slavery defined—Distinguished—from the subjections of childhood—apprenticeship—Imprisonment . . . . . 4—9

SECTION II.

THE ORIGIN OF SLAVERY—Slavery not founded in nature—nor by Divine command—nor by the constitution of society—but by human depravity . . . . 10—12

SECTION III.

SLAVERY ACKNOWLEDGED IN SCRIPTURE—Slavery recognized and regulated, but not sanctioned—The moral law the rule of human duty—The judicial law takes things as they are, not as they ought to be—The apostolic exhortations to slaves do not imply approbation of the state . . . . . 12—17

SECTION IV.

MORAL EFFECTS OF SLAVERY—Slavery injurious both to the master and slave . . . . . 17—20

SECTION V.

SOURCES OF SLAVERY—Crime—War—Debt—Treachery—Parentage 20, 21

SECTION VI.

HISTORY OF SLAVERY—Early introduction of slavery—Nimrod—The Ishmaelites—Joseph in Egypt—The Israelites in Egypt—Pyramids—Slavery among the Greeks—Spartans—Helots—Learned slave—Athens—Carthage . . . . . 21—38

SECTION VII.

SLAVERY AMONG THE ROMANS—Slaves obtained by war—crime—sale—birth. Employment of slaves—Power of masters—Slaves reckoned as chattels—Slaves deserted in their old age—Rome enslaved—Crusades 38—47

SECTION VIII.

SLAVERY AMONG THE JEWS—Slavery denounced as a punishment for idolatry—Possession of slaves among the Hebrews—Man-stealing forbidden—Manner of acquiring slaves—Treatment—Humanity enjoined—Observance of the sabbath—Conduct to female slaves—Voluntary servitude—Year of release—The nations of Canaan—Foreign oppressors of Israel—Captivity of the Jews in Assyria—Haman—Nehemiah's expostulation with the Jews . . . . . 47—69

SECTION IX.

SLAVERY IN EUROPE—The feudal system—The Roman conquests—Condition of the peasantry—Britain—Children sold by their parents—Saxon heptarchy—Humane sentiments—Irish generosity—Slavery by ancestry—Enfranchisement—Ensigns of slavery—Instance of manumission—Redemption of slaves—Decay of slavery in England—Germany—Poland—Russia—Turkey—Italy—Galley slaves—East Indies . . . . 69—98

SECTION X.

NEGRO SLAVERY—Geography and history of Africa and the West Indies—Origin of negro slavery—Ferdinand of Spain—Las Casas—Ximenes—Charles V.—Louis XIII.—Queen Elizabeth—Sir John Hawkins—Manner of procuring slaves—Anecdotes—Employment of negro slaves—The slave voyage—Despondency and disease—Anecdotes—The slave market—Separation of families—Slave labour—Cultivation of coffee—Cotton—Sugar—Slave driving—Slave wages—Waste of life and decrease of slave population—Legal hardships incident to negro slavery . . . . . 98—151

SECTION XI.

DEGRADATION CONNECTED WITH NEGRO SLAVERY—Branding—Working in chains—Instruments of confinement and torture—Contempt of colour—Contempt of their country—Regarded as an inferior race—Punishments—Denied the means of instruction . . . . . 152—161

SECTION XII.

INSTANCES OF AGGRAVATED CRUELTY—Affecting anecdotes 161—167

SECTION XIII.

PARTIAL AMELIORATION OF SLAVERY 167, 168

SECTION XIV.

HISTORY OF THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY . . 168, 169

SECTION XV.

THE EARLY ADVOCATES OF THE ENSLAVED AFRICANS—Ximenes—Charles V.—Pope Leo X.—Queen Elizabeth—Milton—Saunderson—Godwyn—Baxter—Tryon—Fox

—Edmundson—Southern—Montesquieu—Hutcheson—Foster—Steele—The Society of Friends—Burling—Sandiford—Lay—Woolman—Churchman—Eastburne—Benezet—Whitefield—Wesley—Rush—Franklin—Dillwyn—Sharp—Pope—Thomson—Savage—Wallis—Hughes—Burke—Shenstone—Hayter—Dyer—Philmore—Postlethwaite—Jeffrey—Rousseau—Sterne—Warburton—Day—Beattie—Proyart—Smith—Millar—Robertson—Raynal—Paley—Porteus—Gregory—Wakefield—Ramsay—Smith . . . . . 169—206

SECTION XVI.

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM OF NEGROES IN ENGLAND—Jonathan Strong—Granville Sharp—Somerset . 206—214

SECTION XVII.

PRELIMINARY STEPS TOWARDS THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.—Granville Sharp's appeal to Lord North—Petition from Virginia—Appeal of the Society of Friends—Information diffused—A society formed—Parliament petitioned—Barclay—Peckard—Thomas Clarkson—His prize essay—His convictions—His consecration to the cause—Publication of his work—Hancock—Phillips—Langton—Baker—Lord Scarsdale—Sir Charles Middleton—Hannah More—Hoare—Bevan—Sight of a slave vessel—Wilberforce—Newton—Scott—Reynolds—Boswell—Browne—Proposal to bring the slave trade before Parliament—Reflections . 214—244

SECTION XVIII.

ACTIVE MEASURES OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.—Clarkson's "Summary View"—

Roscoe's "Wrongs of Africa"—Currie—Clarkson travels to collect evidence—Falconbridge—Liverpool—African specimens—Clarkson endangered—Rathbone—Manchester—Clarkson preaches—Clarkson's illness—French correspondents—Accessions to cause of abolition—Oppression overruled—William Pitt—Lord Grenville—Temporizing—Spaarman and Wadstrom—Petitions—Publications—Charles James Fox—The question in Parliament—Fresh evidence—Hannah More—Arnold and Gardiner—Volume of evidence—Speeches in Parliament—Loss of the bill—Clarkson in France—Revolt of St. Domingo—Cowper's Task—Sierra Leone Company—Abstinence from sugar—Petitions—Delays—Repeated defeats—False confidence—Death of Mr. Pitt—Lord Grenville's administration—Death of Mr. Fox—Achievement of the abolition of the slave trade . . . . . 214—310

Section XIX.

Measures towards the Abolition of Slavery.—Clarkson's History of the Abolition—Other works commemorative of that event—The measure insufficient—Registry bill—Publications on slavery—Society for the abolition of slavery—Colonization of negroes—Bolivar—Steele in Barbadoes—Mr. Buxton's motion in 1823—Mr. Canning's modifications—Attempts at reform—Immediate emancipation advocated—Colonial contumely—Numerous petitions—Stephen's "England enslaved by her own Colonies"—Eight successive measures—Anti-slavery Society's meeting—Brougham—Discussion in Parliament—Meetings in Ireland—Accession of King William—Attempts of pro-slavery advocates—Anti-

slavery lectures—Meeting at Bath, at Bristol, Bury St. Edmund's—Concurrent causes of success—Extension of knowledge—Diffusion of liberal sentiments—Reform Bill—Infatuated opposition—Popular meetings—Mr. Jeremie—Anecdotes—Proofs of negro capacity—West Indian manifesto—Liberated Africans—Negro instruction encouraged by government—Opposed by planters—Tumult excited—Insurrection in Jamaica—Charges against missionaries—Martial law—Missionaries imprisoned—Chapels destroyed—Missionaries' memorial—Proclamation—Contumely—Intimidation—Negro testimony—Perjury recanted—Magistrates implicated—Interdicts against religion—Mr. Knibb released—Attack on Mr. Bleby—Mr. Baylis assaulted—Mr. Burchell's departure—Negroes examined by Mr. Knibb—Conduct of religious negroes—Mr. Knibb visits England—Continued persecution in Jamaica—Results of persecution—Missionaries in England—Evidence before the Lords—Religious anniversaries—Anti-slavery meeting—Petition to the King—Mr. Buxton's motion—Mr. Knibb's speech—Resolutions of the Baptist Board—Official documents from the West Indies—Resolution of black freeholders—Protest of the missionaries—Speech of Mr. Watkis in the Colonial Assembly—Lord Goderich's circular—Committee of inquiry—Calumny refuted—Persecution overruled—Lord Mulgrave in Jamaica—Whiteley's pamphlet—Anti-slavery meeting—Meeting of delegates—Memorial—Mr. Stanley's plan for emancipation—Objections—Simultaneous feeling—West Indian sentiments—House of Lords—Compensation and Apprenticeship—Death of Wilberforce—Passing of the bill—Provisions of the bill—Review of the bill—Grateful Acknowledgments 310—318

SECTION XX.

ANTICIPATIONS.—Lord Mulgrave—Marquis of Sligo—Sir James C. Smith—Measures of Government—Return of missionaries—Restoration of chapels—The voluntary system—Benevolent expedients—Celebration of Aug. 1—Antigua, Dominica, Jamaica—Negro prayer meetings—Tortola, St. Christopher's, Antigua, St. John's—Anticipations . . . . . 518—555

SECTION XXI.

DUTIES RESULTING.—Christians' obligations—Restitution—Missionary efforts—Moravians—Baptist missionaries—Wesleyan mission—London Missionary Society—Church Missionary Society—The London Central Negro's Friend Society—The Ladies' Society for promoting the education and improvement of the children of Negroes and people of colour in the West Indies. 556—625

SECTION XXII.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.—The duty of extending religious instruction among the negroes—Of promoting the utter annihilation of Slavery—The evangelisation of Africa. . . . . 625—634

THE

HISTORY OF SLAVERY.

INTRODUCTION.

"I thank the goodness and the grace
Which on my birth have smil'd;
And made me, in these christian days,
A happy English child.

I was not born, as thousands are,
Where God was never known;
And taught to pray a useless prayer,
To blocks of wood and stone.

I was not born a little SLAVE,
To labour in the sun;
And wish I were but in the grave,
And all my labour done."

THESE beautiful and simple lines have been employed throughout the present generation to give utterance to the earliest expressions of infant gratitude, and will be imparted to generations yet unborn. As the little one repeats the words, a mother, with gentle and assiduous care, endeavours to impress the sentiment on its understanding and heart. She asks or encourages the child to ask questions, and furnishes or elicits the answers. "To what are you indebted for the mercies you enjoy?" "To the goodness and grace of God."—

"What particular mercies have attended the circumstances of your birth?" "That I was born in christian days, and in happy England."—"What do you mean by christian days?" "A time wherein we are taught about Jesus Christ—what he has done and suffered to save sinners."—"Are there any children who are not taught this?" "Yes, thousands do not know any thing about the true God. They set up blocks of wood and stone, which they call gods, and teach their children to pray a useless prayer to them."—"Why are their prayers useless?" "Because blocks of wood and stone cannot hear or help them."—"Can God hear and help us?" "Yes: the Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him, unto all that call upon him in truth; he will fulfil the desire of them that fear him; he, also, will hear their cry, and will save them."—"What are those people called who pray to blocks of wood and stone?" "Heathens."—"Why do not heathens pray to the true God, as we do?" "Because they have not got the Bible to teach them about him."—"Are heathen children not so happy as English children?" "No: they are neglected, and left in ignorance and vice; sometimes they are very cruelly treated, and put to death, because their parents or their priests think it will please their idol gods."—"Should not happy English children try to help the poor heathen children?" "Yes: we should send them the Bible, and missionaries to teach them, that they may know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom He has sent."

"Are there any other children not so well off as English children?" "Yes: the little slaves, who labour in the sun, and wish they were but in the

grave, and all their labour done." "What is it to be a slave?" * * *

* * * * *

* * * * *

Happy British children of the present race, who have seen the day when slaves were set free! Your hearts have melted when you have heard of the oppression, cruelty, and persecution, endured by the poor negro slaves; you have exulted in hearing that the British government had made a law, that it would no longer have slaves under its dominion; your voices have joined the sacred song that echoed through our British temples—

> "Joy to the slave, the slave is free!
> It is the year of Jubilee!"

> "Praise to the God of our fathers, 'tis he;
> Jehovah hath triumph'd, my country, by thee!"—

and in days to come, when you teach your children the hymns of your childhood, and they ask, "What is it to be a slave?" your hearts will swell, and glow with patriotism and gratitude, while you reply, "My child, there were slaves formerly, but there are no slaves now." Still they will wish to know what slavery means; and you will wish to be able to inform them, and to present them with a record which shall be calculated to excite in them love to their country, gratitude to God, and benevolence to the whole human race.

It is with a design to fix and rivet on your minds such sentiments and feelings, and to qualify you to transmit and perpetuate them to succeeding generations, that this little volume is drawn up and presented to you. May the perusal be interesting and profitable.

SECT. I.—THE NATURE OF SLAVERY.

What is slavery?

SLAVERY, in its widest sense, is the absolute subjection of one human being to the will of another. The slave is considered as the absolute property of the master, who feels himself entitled to do what he will with his own. The slave is constrained to labour, whether he will or not; and that for the benefit of his master, not his own; the master alone having authority to appoint the nature of work on which the slave shall be employed, the time when he shall be constrained to labour or permitted to rest, and the amount of work that he shall be required to perform. The master, also, fixes the subsistence, or means of obtaining a subsistence, which shall be given in return. It is also in the power of the master to inflict on the slave any severity he may think necessary, in order to make him perform the task required, or any sort or degree of punishment for failing to perform it, or otherwise incurring the displeasure of his master. The master, also, claims as his property the children of his slaves, and is at liberty to send them where, and employ them how he pleases; and to give, sell, or bequeath them to other persons, the slave having no power of appeal, and government no power of interference. This is slavery. It may be better or worse according to the customs of different places, or according to the dispositions of masters, whether more or less humane and considerate, or

tyrannical and cruel, but the condition, in itself, is the same.

Now let the young reader again attentively peruse this page, and compare the description given of slavery, with any condition or relation between man and man that he has experienced or observed in this "happy land" of liberty.

It has been said, in the first place, that "slavery is the absolute or entire subjection of one human being to the will of another." Now did you ever see any thing like this practised in England? No. An infant, indeed, is in entire subjection to its parents. This is wisely and mercifully appointed by the law of God, for the good of a poor little helpless being, who could not take care of itself. The parents are entrusted with it as a charge from God, and are prompted by natural affection to use it kindly and tenderly. If they are good parents, they have always two things in view,—the commands of God, and the welfare of the child. As the child becomes capable of understanding, they govern it by reason, rather than by force, and endeavour gradually to fit it to govern and take care of itself. While it is entirely dependent on them, they supply all its real wants to the utmost of their ability: they require of it only what is just and reasonable; and if at any time they inflict chastisement, it is not in a spirit of cruelty and tyranny, but in order to cure some evil propensity of the child, and to promote its real welfare. If—and there have been some shocking instances of this kind—if the parents should be wicked people, who, instead of loving and cherishing their tender offspring, should neglect or ill use it, the overseers of the poor have a right to interfer

or any neighbour who observes it may have the cruel parents taken before a magistrate, and punished according to their crime, while the poor child is properly taken care of. So, though an infant is entirely subject to its parents, it is not subject to their *will*. The laws of God and man protect it; and, if the *will* of the parents is to do ill by their child, the *will* of the law is that they shall suffer for it. But all this is very different from slavery. The master is not entrusted with the slave by any law of God or nature; there is no tie of affection to bind them to each other, and to secure the wise, and kind, and beneficial exercise of authority on the part of the master, or to bind the slave to willing and cheerful obedience. Then again, it is not the good of the slave that the master has in view in the relation, but his own profit. It is not that the slave-master undertakes to protect the helpless, till they have strength and ability to take care of themselves, and then let them go free. The grown up slaves are quite as capable as he is of taking care of themselves and their children, and would much rather do it their own way. Beside, the master has no intention of letting them go free at any future time: he will either employ them in his service as long as they live, or sell them to some other person.

An *apprentice* is subject to the will of his master; but not *absolutely*, or without conditions. For, first, he is at liberty to choose his own *trade* and *master*, nor can he be bound to serve but with his own consent. It is usual for a youth who is about to be apprenticed, to try for a short time first, on purpose that he may be able to judge whether he shall be likely to be satisfied with the conditions of

the place. Then again, the master is bound as well as the apprentice,—bound to teach him his trade, and to allow him sufficient food, or pay him wages as agreed upon; and, if the master should starve, or ill use his apprentice, or require from him an unreasonable degree or duration of labour, or withhold the wages promised, the master is as liable to be taken before a magistrate, and compelled to do his duty, as the apprentice would be if he were lazy or disobedient. The apprentice may appeal, or his parents may appeal on his behalf. Each party has a hold on the other. Besides, however unkind the master may be, or however uncomfortable the apprentice may find his situation, he has, at least, the comfort of knowing, that it is but for a limited time, and the moment the period of his indenture expires, he is as free as if he had never been bound.

A servant is subject to the will of his master, but on a very different footing from a slave. Before he enters on his service, he enters into an engagement with his master, as to what work he is to perform, and what wages he is to receive, and the master cannot compel him to do other work, or a greater proportion, nor dare he withhold his wages. Meanwhile, his wife and children, if he have any, are altogether free from his master, nor can he himself be transferred to another master without his free consent. If the hired servant is not satisfied with the treatment he receives, or has an opportunity of bettering himself, he has but to give a proper notice, and is at full liberty to seek another master. But how different is this from slavery! Who can plead with the cruel slave-master, when he over-works, or beats, or starves his poor little

slave boy or girl? Can the parents of the child? Oh, no: they are slaves themselves; and, if the master pleases, he can compel them to beat their own child, and cruelly ill treat them if they should refuse. Who chose the master, or the employment? Did the little slave? No: he was born in slavery. Did his parents? No: the master got possession of them; and, however much they may dislike him, or however much they may desire to serve, or that their child should serve, another master, they cannot get away. On the other hand, if the master choses to sell them, they cannot resist. Perhaps the father, and mother, and child, may be sold to three different masters, sent to distant places, and never again meet each other. A slave-master can do all this just as freely as an English farmer can dispose of his horses, cows, sheep, and pigs. Perhaps rather more so; for in England, a man who starves or ill uses his cattle, is disliked and despised by his neighbours, and may be punished by the law of the land; but, where slavery is common, the ill treatment of slaves is little regarded. Then, in England, the apprentice learns a trade, by which he hopes, in future, to obtain a living and support a family; and the servant is encouraged in his labour by the hope of gaining and saving property for his future use and comfort. It is truly gratifying to a benevolent master to know, that his thrifty servant or apprentice has a little fund in the Savings' Bank; but not so with the poor slave. However industrious and ingenious he may be, all his earnings are not for himself, but for his master. Some masters, it has already been observed, may be much more humane

and considerate than others; but, in point of law, whatever property a slave may acquire, belongs to his master. More than this, however kind the master may be, if he should happen to be unfortunate and poor, the slave, and all he has, may be sold for the payment of his master's debts; and under a new master he may be overworked, and beaten, and starved, even to death, and no one to take his part, or restrain his cruel oppressor.

Even a prisoner in England is better off than a slave. He may, for his crimes, be separated from society, confined in a prison, kept to hard labour, and fed upon bread and water; but, in all this, he is subject not to the will of another individual, but to the laws of his country. In the first place, if he had been obedient to the laws, he would not have been exposed to these hardships; and, in the next place, the jailor dares not punish him as much as he pleases, but as much, and no more, than the sentence of the law directs. He dares not keep him in prison a day longer than the appointed time, or make him suffer any hardship or privation beyond what his sentence directs; and, lest one man, being put in trust, might be tempted to be cruel and tyrannical to those under his care, there are many magistrates appointed in every county, whose duty it is to inspect prisons, and take care that prisoners are treated with justice and humanity by inferior officers. In a land of liberty, there is no such thing known, as "the entire subjection of one human being to the will of another;" there is no slavery!

SECT. II.—THE ORIGIN OF SLAVERY.

How did Slavery originate?

It is natural, when contemplating a practice of wide extent, and weighty influence, to inquire into its origin. There are some things in the constitution of society that are expressly appointed by God, or evidently and naturally arise out of the relations of human life. Such as the institution of marriage, and the duties of parental care and filial obedience. These things we can easily account for. They are fit and proper in themselves, according to the constitution of human nature, and the appointment of our wise and gracious Creator.

We can also account for the subjection of the brute creatures to man. God has endowed man with reason, which they do not possess, and which gives him a vast superiority over them. They appear, also, to have been (in a great measure) created for the service of man, and they have been expressly placed in subjection under him. In man's original state of innocency God blessed him, and gave him dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth on the face of the earth, Gen. i. 28. Again, after the fall of man, and after the flood, God renewed and extended the grant to Noah and his sons, giving them not only dominion over the brute creation in general, but also permission to use for food such as are suitable for that purpose, at the same time carefully restricting them from cruelty towards the meanest creatures, Gen. ix. 1—4.

We can understand how, as man multiplied on the face of the earth, many distinctions in society would naturally arise. Some men would possess greater abilities than others, and exercise greater industry; and, in consequence, would acquire greater possessions. Thus they would have the means of purchasing greater accommodations for themselves; and those who did not possess so much, would be glad to serve them for what they wanted and the others could spare. Thus, the distinctions of masters and servants, teachers and learners, employers and employed, would speedily arise; and, in all these relations, the end proposed would be the mutual benefit of both parties. But we cannot thus account for slavery. God never gave to any one human being this absolute authority over another: there is nothing in the nature and constitution of society to require or justify it, nor can it exist without setting at nought all just laws, human and divine.—"God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon the face of the earth; and he has given to every man certain natural rights, which another man cannot have a right to take from him. These are, his right to his life, limbs, and liberty: his right, in common with others, to the use of light, air, and water, and his right to the produce of his personal labour. If a thousand persons, from a thousand different parts of the world, were cast together upon a previously uninhabited island, every one of them would, from the first, be entitled to these rights."* Nothing can forfeit them but an infringement on the rights of others. Thus, it may be necessary to deprive a madman, or a murderer, of

* Paley.

his liberty, to prevent his depriving others of their lives. But the authority to do this is not given to any man as an individual, but to the whole community, or to the magistrate, as the representative of the whole. In this case, no man is benefited by the privation of another, any farther than all are secured against injury. This, therefore, can never account for the origin of slavery, which is one man usurping dominion over another for his own advantage, and to the injury of the person he oppresses. No. The origin of slavery can be found no where but in human depravity: the selfishness, hardness, and cruelty of the human heart, which prompt a man to pursue his own interests, though he sacrifices the welfare and the rights of others; and to oppress, and trample on the weak, merely because he has the power to do so.

Before we pass on to another section, it may not be amiss to remind the young reader, that every instance of childish violence and oppression springs from the very same source as slavery. The stronger child who beats a weaker child, or snatches from him a toy or cake, discovers the dispositions that would lead him, in maturer years, if opportunity offered, to be the cruel tyrannical slave-master.

SECT. III.—SLAVERY ACKNOWLEDGED IN SCRIPTURE.

It may excite some surprise, and has often been advanced as an argument in favour of slavery, by persons interested in its continuance, that it is recognized and tolerated in the law of Moses, and even in the New Testament.

In answer to this it should be borne in mind, that several things were tolerated in the Mosaic economy which were not ordained, especially polygamy, (or having several wives,) and divorce, (or separation of married persons,) on comparatively trivial occasions. These things, it has been justly observed, "were always a deviation from the original institution of marriage, consequent upon man's depravity as a fallen creature, arising from the inconstancy of his mind and the impetuosity of his passions. This customary deviation God did not please, in the *judicial* law, (the magistrate's rule,) entirely to prohibit, lest it should occasion the ill treatment, or even the murder, of those women who were become disagreeable to their husbands." "In the days of Christ, the Jewish teachers having construed the *permission* into a *commandment*, extended it to the most frivolous matters."* This our Lord reproved, and said, "Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives, but from the beginning it was not so," Matt. xix. 8. The same remarks will apply to slavery. The law of Moses did not ordain the condition, but found it already in existence, and did not abolish it, but regulated and restrained its evils.

Another instance may be given to prove that scripture does not sanction all that it tolerates or takes notice of. God himself was pleased to be the King of Israel, and the nation could not, without sin and rebellion against God, desire another king; yet God, foreseeing that they would, in after ages, desire a king like other nations, caused

* Scott.

instructions to be given in the law of Moses as to the choice of a king, and his duties when chosen. Now, though these instructions are given, the appointment of a king is not commanded, nor even counselled, and it is certain the people sinned when they asked a king. So, though the rules respecting the treatment of slaves, suppose the existence of slavery, they do not prove that slavery was approved of God, or lawful in itself. This question must be settled by the plain precepts or general tenour of scripture, not by these judicial regulations.

There are many directions and encouragements given to the Israelites, in after ages, to turn to the Lord, even in foreign lands, whither they would be carried captives on account of their idolatry and wickedness. But it would be very wrong to construe these into a command or permission to sin, and commit idolatry, in order to their being carried away captive, and, in the land of their captivity, repenting, and seeking the God of their fathers.

Besides, it may be remarked, that the regulations given to the Jews respecting the treatment of slaves, though they did not at all disprove the evil of slavery, were calculated to convert that evil into a blessing, by bringing the heathen under the means of grace, and putting them in a way of obtaining the privileges of God's peculiar people. Still, though the goodness of God overruled evil, and often does thus overrule it, this gives to man no command or permission to do evil that good may come.

In concluding this argument, let it be remembered, that the *moral* law of God, which is in all ages the unchangeable rule of man's duty, requires every thing that is spiritually good in its highest

perfection, and never tolerates any thing wrong in the smallest degree. The *judicial* law, given especially to the Jews, neither commands any thing morally bad, nor forbids any thing morally good; yet, in two essential particulars, it differs from the moral law. It takes things *as they are*, not as they *ought to be;* and, as it was to come under the cognizance of the civil magistrate, it had respect to *outward actions*, rather than to the *motives and feelings of the heart*. The whole tenour of the gospel evidently discountenances slavery. It is only necessary to refer to the "golden rule," "the royal law of love," which must be considered as absolutely prohibiting it,—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," and "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." Now, unless a christian could lay his hand on his heart, and say, as in the presence of HIM who reads it, "I am willing to become a slave," he can never say that the gospel does not forbid slavery.

There are some passages in the epistles which have been thought to countenance slavery; such as the exhortations to servants to be obedient to their masters,—to abide in the same calling in which they were called,—if that of a servant not to care for it, (see Ephes. vi. 5—8; Col. iii. 22—25; 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2; Tit. ii. 9—14; 1 Pet. ii. 18—25); also, the conscientious care of the apostle Paul, having been the means of converting Onesimus, a runaway slave, to send him back to his master Philemon, at Colosse, that he might confess his past misbehaviour, obtain his master's forgiveness, and receive his permission to return and serve the apostle, or otherwise promote the cause of christianity. Now

admitting that, in all probability, the persons to whom these exhortations were addressed were bond slaves, for that was the common case of servants in those days, it may be remarked, that the gospel takes men as it finds them, and gives them directions for their conduct in that condition, rather than directs them to change it; but this, by no means, implies approbation of the condition itself; it only shows the excellency of the gospel, which is a universal blessing, and is almost the only blessing from which a poor slave is not excluded. If a wife became a christian, she was not directed to forsake her heathen husband, but so to conduct herself towards him, as might be the means of winning him to love religion: but this did not imply approbation, or even permission, of the marriage of christians with heathens, which is elsewhere expressly forbidden. No more is any approbation or permission of slavery found in the counsel, "Art thou called, being a servant (or slave)? care not for it." It rather means, that the privilege of being made free by the gospel, might well comfort and sustain the pious slave under the hardships and inconveniences of his situation, and that he should be less solicitous about gaining his liberty than about glorifying God in his trying situation. "But," the apostle expressly adds, "if thou mayest be made free, use it rather." It is possible for a slave to become a christian, or for a christian to be made a slave. In either case, the gospel will teach him resignation and submission to the dispensation, which, however unrighteously inflicted by men, he must regard as a trial from God; it will also teach him the hard lesson of forgiveness to his oppressors, of rendering good for evil, and enable him, by the

grace of God, to adorn the doctrine of God his Saviour in all things.

But though all this proves the excellency of the gospel, it only serves to set off, by contrast, the evils of slavery. As to that most delightful epistle of Paul to Philemon, it was a matter of correct and delicate feeling, both on the part of the apostle and his convert, that Onesimus should go and surrender himself to his injured master, and receive, as a willing gift, that which the apostle evidently anticipated, and which he trusted to the influence of christian principles to produce, without a set command, forgiveness, and freedom. This was at once a trial of the sincere repentance of Onesimus, and of the christian spirit of Philemon, as well as an evidence of the apostle's regard to such things as were expedient, lovely, and of good report. But it implies no approbation of slavery; and, on the whole, it may be fairly said, that, in the whole Bible, there is not a single passage that warrants one human being in holding another in absolute and irresponsible subjection; while there are several severe censures, and awful denunciations, against the sin of man-stealing, a practice which is almost invariably connected with slavery in modern times. —See 1 Tim. i. 10; Ezek. xxvii. 13; Rev. xviii. 13.

SECT. IV.—THE MORAL EFFECTS OF SLAVERY.

"A GOOD tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit, therefore, by their fruits, ye shall know them:" and what are the natural fruits of slavery?

As to the master, the exercise of uncontrolled power can scarcely fail to render a man overbearing and tyrannical. The very sight of a number of beings wholly subservient to his will and pleasure, will foster the pride and selfishness of the human heart. The man will imagine himself a very elevated being, and forget the claims of his fellow-creatures upon him. His will being law, he will, in all probability, acquire a habit of governing them by force, and will cease to deal with them by moral means. He will forget their responsibility and his own, when either would come in competition with his interest or his gratification. By the habitual sight of human beings in a state of degradation and misery, (and such must be a state of slavery at the best,) his heart will insensibly become hardened, and he will cease to feel compassion for the sufferings of his fellow man: his temper will become irritable and turbulent, and his passions will rage without controul. It is impossible to exercise an improper dominion over a fellow-creature, without sustaining a correspondent reaction of evil,—a weakening of moral principle, and a strengthening every corrupt passion and propensity These results have been strikingly seen in individuals, who, before their connexion with slavery, were manly, generous, and humane; but who, under the influence of that wretched system, have gradually sunk into callousness and cruelty, of which, if a few years before, the horrid picture had been presented to them, they would have indignantly exclaimed, "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do these things?"

As to the slave, the natural tendency of the oppression he endures, is to degrade and debase

him below his natural level. He is treated as a machine, to be worked by force; this represses his energies, and promotes indolence, stupidity, and craft. He does nothing but what he is compelled to do: his ingenuity is employed, not in improving himself, or benefiting his master, but in contriving to evade the imposition of labour, or the infliction of punishment. He does nothing from moral motives. Freedom, hope, and domestic love, are the great springs of virtuous action and enjoyment. But the slave is deprived of them all. He is not allowed to act as a free agent, and he ceases to consider himself responsible. The law of his master is often set against the laws of nature, and of God: thus, the sense of right and wrong is confounded in the mind of the slave. He has nothing to hope for as the reward of exertion; for, whatever he acquires, is the property of another. Domestic life loses its endearing ties, for he must not regard even his wife and children as his own: he may, in a moment, be separated from them by the will of a tyrant. In such a condition, the human mind, as it is more strongly or more feebly constituted, sinks into listless apathy, sullen indifference, retaliative cunning, or fierce revenge—

"Yes, to deep sadness sullenly resign'd,
He feels his body's bondage in his mind,
Puts off his gen'rous nature; and to suit
His manners with his fate, puts on the brute.
Oh, most degrading of all ills that wait
On man, a mourner in his best estate!
All other sorrows virtue may endure,
And find submission more than half a cure.
But slavery! Virtue dreads it as her grave,
Patience itself is meanness in a slave:

Or, if the will and sovereignty of God,
Bids suffer it awhile, and kiss the rod,
Wait for the dawning of a brighter day,
And snap the chain the moment when you may."
COWPER.

SECT. V.—THE SOURCES OF SLAVERY.

If liberty is the birthright of every human being, in what manner have persons become slaves? This is a very natural question. We should think liberty so dear a blessing, that every one would most strenuously maintain and defend it, and watch against every thing that might endanger it. Fellow feeling, we should think, would also prompt every man to defend this sacred right of his neighbour against encroachment; and that, if an attempt should be made to enslave one man, the whole neighbourhood would rise to defend or rescue him; and that thus slavery must be of very rare occurrence, and its extensive prevalence absolutely impossible. This, however, is very far from being the true state of the case.

Among the causes of slavery may be mentioned—

1. Crime.—On account of their crimes, some persons have been condemned to labour in a state of slavery for a limited time, or for the remainder of life.

2. Captives taken in war have been either detained and employed as slaves in public works, or sold to individuals, or appropriated by the captors for their own private use, as any other part of the booty taken in war. Persons thus becoming slaves,

have often been redeemed from captivity by a ransom paid by their friends; or exchanged for other captives, restored to their own country, and set at liberty.

3. Debtors have sometimes sold themselves to their creditors, either for a limited time, or for life.

4. A vast proportion of slaves have been made so by the treachery of man. They have been enticed by stratagem, or seized by violence, and sold into captivity. Even parents have sold their children in this manner.

5. Children born of parents in a state of slavery, being destitute of the means of claiming the native liberty of man, have inherited the slavery of their parents, and become the property of their possessor; and thus slavery, when once incurred, has been perpetuated from generation to generation.

SECT. VI.—THE HISTORY OF SLAVERY.

When did slavery begin? At a very early period. We do not know whether it existed before the flood; but, as the presumptuous wickedness of man had risen to such an awful height, as to call for that judgment from a righteous God, we can scarcely think that, among the monstrous evils that prevailed, the oppression of man by man did not hold a conspicuous place. Indeed, the predictive curse pronounced soon after the flood, against Ham and his posterity, "a servant of servants, (or a slave of slaves,) shall he be unto his brethren," would have been unintelligible if slavery had been unknown.

In rather more than a century after the flood, Nimrod, the son of Cush, grandson of Ham and

great-grandson of Noah, was proverbially distinguished as a "mighty hunter before the Lord." This phrase, "before the Lord," when applied to a good man, intimates that he acted as realizing the presence of God, and enjoying the Divine approbation and favour. Thus it is said that "Noah was *righteous before the Lord*;" and Abraham was thus addressed,—"I am the Almighty God, *walk thou before me*, and be thou perfect." But when the phrase is applied to a wicked man, it generally expresses his presumptuous defiance of the Lord. Thus it is said, "the men of Sodom were wicked, and *sinners before the Lord* exceedingly." It is probable that the phrase, as applied to Nimrod, denotes his daring haughty spirit, which led him, in his ambitious pursuits, to disregard the laws of God and the rights of men. Up to his time, government had been patriarchal; that is, each father had governed in his own family; but Nimrod is the first mentioned king and conqueror. He might hunt wild beasts, but it is pretty evident that he also hunted down men, and made them subservient to his ambition and usurpation. He founded the royal city, afterwards called Babel or Babylon, and thence went forth to conquer and subdue, and usurp dominion over the inhabitants of other places. He was, in all probability, the leader of that presumptuous enterprise, the building of a city whose walls should reach to heaven, and should become the centre of a universal monarchy. In the prosecution of these ambitious designs, we can easily imagine that Nimrod must have reduced vast numbers of his fellow-creatures to subjection, either to the labour of slavery or the captivity of war; indeed we can scarcely suppose it to have been other-

wise; and general surmise probably does not err in assigning to Nimrod the infamous distinction of being the parent of postdiluvian slavery. It is certain that, in the time of Abraham, some kind of slavery was very common, for we read repeatedly of servants which were his property, born in his house, or bought with his money, or presented to him by some prince with whom he was in friendly alliance, and from henceforward almost every enumeration of patriarchal wealth contains the item, "men-servants and maid-servants." From the character of Abraham, we have every reason to conclude that these persons were treated by him not only with justice and humanity, but with paternal kindness; and, in many instances, their being placed in his family was doubtless a great blessing to them, as the means of bringing them to an acquaintance with the true God. The same remark will apply to the pious patriarchs in general. Still we cannot but see the evil connected with a condition which entrusts one man with absolute dominion over another, the possibility and even danger that he may abuse it. It is very possible that humane and conscientious persons, living in times and countries where slavery was the usual mode of servitude, may have fallen into the custom without perceiving the danger of its principle, and without any disposition to abuse the arbitrary power they possessed; but such instances, however numerous, must be regarded as the exceptions, which do not set aside the general rule that fallen man, acquiring absolute power over his natural equals will, in all probability, abuse it.

About a hundred and fifty years afterwards, we find that the descendants of Ishmael, and of

Abraham's other sons, by Keturah, having greatly multiplied, carried on an extensive trade with Egypt, carrying thither "spicery, balm, and myrrh," the precious productions of their own lands, and, probably, bringing back in exchange the manufactures of Egypt. We observe, with regret, that they were also familiar with another, a most unjust and inhuman traffic in the persons of men. For when the unnatural brethren of Joseph were deliberating on taking away his life, the approach of a company of Ishmaelitish merchants struck into their minds the sudden thought of selling him for a slave. The proposal was made, and the transaction completed without any thing like an emotion of horror or surprise. It is evident that the sale of the human species was no new thing, and that the purchasers were not over scrupulous in their inquiries as to the right of disposal. Many years afterwards, when speaking of the transaction, Joseph said, "I was *stolen* out of the land of the Hebrews;" and this was a just account. The Ishmaelites, indeed, *bought* him and *sold* him; but they bought him of those who had no right to sell him, and no subsequent purchases could do away the guilt of the first theft, or give *right* to any successive proprietors. The same remark will apply to right of property in African slaves, a subject which, during the last few years, has provoked much discussion, but which is now, as far as England is concerned, happily set at rest.

When the astonishing vicissitudes of Providence, by which the history of Joseph is marked, had placed him on the second throne in Egypt, and brought his offending brethren to his feet in the character of humble suppliants, although cordially reconciled

to them, he observed a mysterious line of conduct, designed and calculated to carry to their consciences convictions of past guilt, and to manifest their present real state of feeling. Among other expedients, he caused his silver cup to be secretly conveyed into the sack of Benjamin, and then sent pursuers to search for it as stolen property. Conscious of their innocence, the eleven brethren challenged investigation, and proposed, in case of its being found with them, that the guilty individual should suffer death, and the rest become bondslaves. On the supposed conviction of Benjamin, Joseph still disguising his real character and feelings, sentenced him alone to bondage, and gave the rest liberty to depart. This circumstance is referred to, simply as an instance that, in those early times, slavery was made a punishment for crime.

The history of Joseph furnishes an example of persons being brought into a state of comparative slavery in another way, viz. as debtors, or purchasers of that for which they had no other means of paying. Under the wise administration of Joseph, an ample supply of provision was treasured up during the seven years of plenty, to supply Egypt and surrounding lands with food during the seven years of famine, which, according to the Divine intimation, were to succeed. It appears that the people in general were not inclined individually to lay up in store, as they might have done, each family for itself. Much of the extraordinary produce was probably consumed in luxury, and the remainder purchased by Joseph, and deposited in the public granaries. At the commencement of the dearth, the people gladly resorted to these stores, and

purchased as they needed, for the supply of their families. "Skin for skin, all that a man has will he give for his life." Money seemed a thing of small value in comparison with bread, and the whole store of gold and silver was readily parted with for the means of subsistence. When their treasures of money were exhausted, the people brought their cattle in exchange for food, and, as the season of famine drew towards a close, they even sold their lands and their persons to Pharaoh, for sustenance and for seed, that the land might not be desolate, and the calamity prolonged for want of improving the seed time, when the Nile began to overflow. It does not appear that any advantage was taken of the clause which sold the *persons* to Pharaoh, so as to reduce them to personal oppression and slavery, but that one-fifth of the whole produce of the land in future became the property of the king.

The intimation that Joseph removed the people to the cities, probably means no more than he appointed central places in each district, whither the people from the distant villages were to repair for convenience of being supplied with food. But though no immediate inconvenience appears to have arisen from this surrender of the liberties of the people, it could scarcely exist without ultimately proving an occasion of tyranny and oppression. It has been very justly observed, that "no prince ever obtained arbitrary power so fairly, yet, perhaps, it laid the foundation for the subsequent oppression of Israel." *

The family of Jacob, who came down for succour to Egypt in time of famine, continued to

* Ryland. See Fuller on Genesis.

dwell there, and multiplied exceedingly. Joseph had long been dead, and that Pharaoh who was his patron; and the services of Joseph, and the friendship due to his kindred, were forgotten. A tyrannical and oppressive prince observed with jealousy the vast increase of Israel, and affected to regard them as dangerous on two accounts,—lest they should become mightier than the Egyptians, and reduce them to a state of inferiority; and lest they should resolve to quit Egypt and take possession of their promised inheritance, and so Egypt should sustain the loss of a great number of useful subjects. It appears that various labours had been exacted of the Israelites, as a kind of tax; and it was equitable and reasonable that while they found shelter, protection, and sustenance in Egypt, they should in some way contribute to the support of the state. But these exactions were increased to such a degree as to reduce the people to slavery. Their lives were made bitter to them with hard bondage, in mortar and brick, and in all manner of service in the field. Task-masters were appointed over them, to enforce these iniquitous exactions. In every respect they were treated with extreme rigour, both as to the excess of their labour and the severity of their punishments.

The works on which they were employed, were probably works of great utility, such as building treasure cities, and digging trenches to convey the waters of the Nile; but though the fruits of their industry were many and great, all proper compensation seems to have been withheld from them, and the unreasonable demands of their oppressors rose beyond bounds; nor was this all, the domestic life of this oppressed people was cruelly

embittered by a decree of Pharaoh to destroy all their male infants as soon as born.

In the reign of the succeeding Pharaoh their hardships were perpetuated and even increased, and the gracious interference of Jehovah to deliver them, by the hand of Moses, was but a signal for the infliction of new cruelties. More work was laid upon the men, while the means of performing it were denied them, and new severities were exercised in case of failure.

The slavery of the Israelites in Egypt appears to have been a more exact counterpart of negro slavery than any other age or nation has produced. Its aggravated degree of guilt and offensiveness, in the sight of God, were sufficiently marked in the awful plagues which devastated that land of oppression, and at length procured the release of the captives.

Hitherto we have gathered these fragments of the history of slavery from the sacred writings, and to them we shall have occasion again to refer. From other ancient histories, we learn that it was a part of the policy of the kings of Egypt, in the erection of stately temples and other fine buildings, by which they hoped to immortalize their names, to employ only the labour of captives. Some splendid monuments of the victories of Sesostris, one of their greatest kings, bore inscriptions which testified that these mighty works had been completed without burdening any of his subjects. This rule, however, was not uniformly adhered to. In the erection of those most stupendous, but useless monuments of antiquity, the pyramids, the native subjects of Egypt were grievously oppressed, and immense numbers of lives fell a sacrifice to the

labour. Ten complete years were spent in hewing out the stones, either in Arabia or Ethiopia, and twenty years more in building one pyramid only. During this time 100,000 men were constantly employed on the work, and were relieved every three months by the same number. The cruelties practised, in constraining this immense number of persons to engage in the work, and the excessive degree of labour required from them, by which many lives were sacrificed, excited universal hatred, and ultimately defeated the design of the vain-glorious founders. Such immense labour and expense were incurred in building tombs for the projectors; but the popular hatred excited by their oppression, occasioned their being interred in some obscure place, to prevent their bodies from being exposed to the fury and vengeance of the populace.

But though Egypt was oppressed by tyrannical governors, many of its laws were wise, equitable, and humane. One in particular deserves mention here, as a distinguishing feature in the regulations of slavery, from the practice of other nations. Wilful murder was punished with death, whatever might be the condition of the murdered person, whether free-born or otherwise. In some ancient states, an absolute power of life and death was given to the master over the slave; and the modern records of slavery are stained with facts of slave-murder being visited only with a trifling pecuniary fine, or even altogether escaping punishment.

Slavery among the ancient Greeks was both extensive and rigorous. It is a remarkable and lamentable fact, that the most strenuous asserters of their own liberty have been the most cruelly oppressive over others. Hence it was a common

proverb that, "At Sparta, the freeman is the freest of all men, and the slave the greatest of slaves." Slaves were obtained by conquest in war; by sale of themselves for a subsistence, or in payment of debts; and by the perfidiousness and cupidity of persons who traded in slaves, and who often stole persons, even of noble birth, and sold them. If any person were convicted of betraying a freeman, he was liable to punishment; but either means were found to evade detection, or the slave-dealers must have procured their victims from some distant part, to which the privilege of protection did not extend, for, on the first day of every month, the merchants brought them to the market at Athens, and exposed them for sale in a part of the forum appropriated for that purpose, the public crier calling together purchasers.

Among other superstitions of the Spartans, it was an annual custom to whip a number of boys on the altar of the goddess Diana, with such severity that the blood gushed forth in profuse streams, and they sometimes died under the cruel infliction, the parents standing by and urging them to courage and constancy, so that a cry or groan was scarcely heard from any of them. In the earlier days of the Spartan republic, these boys were free-born Spartans, but in more delicate ages the offspring of slaves were substituted.

The Helots were the most cruelly degraded and oppressed of all slaves. They were originally so called from Helos, a town of Laconia, which the Spartans conquered, and, taking all the inhabitants prisoners of war, reduced them to the most abject slavery. The name was not afterwards confined to this unfortunate people and their descendants,

but seems to have been used as an expression of contempt towards the vilest slaves in general. The degradation, drudgery, and cruelty inflicted on these unhappy beings were almost unequalled. The freemen of Sparta were forbidden the exercise of any mean or mechanical employment. Hence the Helots were compelled to till the ground and perform every kind of labour for their lordly masters. This would have been but a small evil; but tyranny compelled them to submit also to mental and moral degradation. It was a common thing to force them to drink to excess, and, in that condition, to lead them into the public halls, and exhibit them to the Spartan children, to show them what a contemptible and beastly sight a drunken man is. They also compelled them to dance uncomely dances, and to sing ridiculous songs, expressly forbidding them to use any that were serious and manly, because they would not have them profaned by the mouths of slaves. Hence, when some of the Helots were made prisoners and carried into Thebes, the conquerors could by no means persuade them to utter the odes of certain celebrated poets, for, said they, "they are our masters' songs, and we dare not sing them;" a proof of the tendency of slavery to crush the spirit, so that it cannot easily resume its freedom, even when the pressure is taken off. A striking fact, illustrative of this sentiment, is found in the history of the Scythians. That warlike people made a successful expedition against Medea, and subdued nearly the whole of Upper Asia. In this the whole flower of the nation was engaged; in fact, the remaining population consisted only of women, children, aged persons, and slaves. The

conquering army remained in the land they had subdued, and the slaves being thus rid of their masters elevated themselves in society, formed marriages in the families of their former masters, and, in fact, became possessors of the country. After a period of twenty-eight years, the Scythians returned, but found a numerous body in arms to oppose their entrance and dispute their progress. For a considerable time, and in several engagements, this opposition was successful, and the numbers of the returning Scythians was fearfully diminished. At length one of them suggested that they ought not to meet their former slaves on an equal footing, with darts and arrows, a course which (said he) leads them to imagine themselves our equals in birth and importance; let us rush on them with horse-whips only, they will then be reminded of their servile condition, and resist us no longer. This expedient succeeded; the slaves were intimidated and fled, and the sovereignty of the country was regained by its former masters.

We are informed that these Helots were habitually treated in the most barbarous manner, and often murdered without committing any fault, and without any show of justice. On one occasion, a number of them were professedly set free, as a reward for their good and faithful services; but about two thousand of them immediately disappeared, and no one could give any account how they came by their deaths.

It was the policy of the Grecians, as it has been of all slave-masters, to keep the slaves at a very great distance; to instil into them a mean opinion of themselves; to extinguish, if possible, every spark of generosity and manhood; to withhold

from them the blessings of education; to accustom them to blows and stripes, hard labour, and want. Even friendship among themselves was discountenanced, lest they should excite each other to rebellion. It was accounted an insufferable piece of impudence for a slave to imitate a freeman in dress or behaviour. Even their hair was cut in a particular form to distinguish them from their masters; and the coat of a slave was only allowed to have one sleeve. They were denied the means of knowledge, and then reproached with being rude and ignorant; so that it was a phrase of reproach commonly applied to a stupid person, "You are as ignorant as a slave." In spite, however, of these cruel efforts to crush the spirit of man, and retain it in servile ignorance, there were some who rose superior to their difficulties, and proved that nobility of soul and greatness of understanding are not confined to any rank or quality. Æsop, the celebrated fabulist, Alcman, the poet, and Epictetus, the famous moralist, were all Grecian slaves.

Slaves were neither permitted to plead for themselves, nor to be witnesses in any cause; yet, if they were suspected of being privy to any secret transaction, it was customary to extort confession from them by torture; and, because these tortures were often so violent as to occasion the death of the slave, or disable him from being serviceable to his master, the party requiring a slave for this end was obliged to give security to the master, sufficient to compensate for the loss of his slave. Thus, the suffering, dying slave, was not regarded as the injured party, but the master, from the loss of his services.

Slaves were not permitted to join in the worship of some of their heathen temples, but were accounted unholy and profane, too mean to be admitted upon a level with free-born worshippers. Their worship, indeed, was to heathen gods, who could not bless or save, and we do not greatly wonder at the pride and oppression of their votaries; but, it is far more to be regretted, that similar feelings of haughty superiority have been suffered to exist among the professed worshippers of Him, who is no respecter of persons, and before whom there is no difference between Jew and Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond, and free. Slaves were even restricted from some vices which were commonly practised by free men; these prohibitions were not on the ground of morality, but as a mark of degradation and inferiority. A citizen might commit sins which were too dignified and genteel to be allowed to a slave.

A slave was not permitted to be called by any name that was in use among citizens, or by any name connected with what was at all considered great and noble. It was recommended to give slaves and dogs short names, that they might be the more quickly pronounced. Hence, if slaves by any means recovered their freedom, it was common to change their names for others that had more syllables, or an additional name was assumed in some way connected with the place, author, or circumstances of their liberation.

Above all things, especial care was taken that slaves should not bear arms; and this precaution was not without reason, since the number of slaves in Greece was nearly twenty times that of free citizens. The only wonder is, that they did not

[illegible]

[illegible] which could scarcely be [illegible] they were made to [illegible] freedom, being bound [illegible] and unmercifully beaten with [illegible] even to death. It was [illegible] punishment, to brand or mutilate [illegible] times the part offending, as the [illegible] the tongue for offensive speaking [illegible] upon the forehead, [illegible] Sometimes they were [illegible] punishment for crime, but [illegible] distinguish them, in case they should [illegible] masters. Working in mills was a common punishment for slaves. This labour was very fatiguing; the present easy methods of grinding were unknown, and the grain was beaten or [illegible] two heavy stones worked with the hand. This was, no doubt, usually performed by slaves; but, in an ordinary way, lightened by a frequent change of

hands. The punishment, in all probability, consisted in being kept constantly to this excessive toil, and other cruelties were practised upon them to render it the more intolerable.

The slaves at Athens were treated with more humanity than in most other places. If grievously oppressed, they were allowed to flee for sanctuary to the Temple of Theseus, whence to force them was an act of sacrilege. If they had been barbarously treated, they might commence a suit against their masters; and, if it appeared that the complaint was reasonable and just, the master was obliged to sell his slave, and give him the chance of finding a better master. If injured by other persons, not their masters, slaves were allowed to proceed by a course of law. They were also allowed more freedom in conversation among themselves, and permitted to enjoy many of the ordinary pleasures of life; and, moreover, were solaced with the hope of one day regaining their liberty. They were permitted to acquire property and hold estates, only paying to their masters a small annual tribute; and if, by their industry and frugality, they acquired a sufficient sum to purchase their ransom, their masters had no power to hinder them from so doing. In some instances, the fidelity and diligence of the slave was rewarded by the generosity of the master in the free bestowment of liberty; and, on several occasions, when slaves by their courage and constancy rendered essential service to the state, they were uniformly rewarded with liberty, and generally advanced to considerable dignity and reputation; though such as obtained their liberty by purchase, or by favour of an indi-

vidual, were rarely advanced to the rank of citizens, or, at best, had to endure much dislike and opposition.

Slavery at Carthage.—Carthage was a famous city of antiquity, the capital of Africa Proper, and for many years disputed with Rome the sovereignty of the world. It has been conjectured that the Carthaginians were one of the nations of Canaan, and that they fled at the conquest of Canaan by Joshua, and colonized at Carthage. In process of time they became very powerful, and conquered a great part of Southern Europe, including Spain, where they enriched themselves with the produce of its mines of gold and silver. The labour employed in working these mines was incredible. The veins of metal rarely appeared on the surface. They were to be sought for and traced through frightful depths, where often floods of water impeded the progress of the miners, and seemed to defeat all future pursuit; but avarice is not easily disheartened, especially when the toil and suffering to be endured in pursuit of its golden idol can be imposed on others. Numberless multitudes of slaves perished in these mines, which were dug to enrich their masters. Upwards of 40,000 were constantly employed: they were treated with the utmost barbarity; compelled, by heavy stripes, to labour, and allowed no respite day or night.

In most barbarous nations, the wretched slaves and their offspring were taken as substitutes in the idolatrous and cruel rites of their worship. This has already been alluded to among the customs of Sparta (p. 30). The Carthaginians worshipped Saturn, or Moloch, a frightful brazen image, with its hands turned downwards over a fiery furnace. On stated occasions, and on particular

emergencies of war, pestilence, or other calamity, a great number of children were sacrificed to the idol, being placed on its hands, and immediately rolling into the furnace at its feet. These were professedly children of noble birth; but it was common to rescue them, and fraudulently to substitute the children of slaves or foreigners. A series of misfortunes led them to condemn themselves for this crime; not the real crime of cruelty and murder, but the imaginary crime of substituting what they supposed the *meaner life of slaves*, and, to atone for it, they sacrificed in one day two hundred children of the first families in Carthage, and three hundred citizens voluntarily sacrificed themselves. The dark places of the earth are, indeed, the habitations of cruelty! How awful and sickening the scene! But what a reproach to us who worship the only living and true God, yet hesitate to offer to his service the best of our time, talents, and possessions.

SECT. VII.—SLAVERY AMONG THE ROMANS.

Men became slaves among the Romans in each of the ways already specified.

1. By war.—Those who voluntarily surrendered to the victorious arms of Rome retained their freedom; but such as were taken in the field of battle were sold by auction, the slave wearing a crown, and a spear being set up where the crier or auctioneer stood, to intimate that they were obtained by the triumphs of war. They were called *servi*, to denote their future destiny—that of servitude for the benefit of others; and *mancipia*, as spoils taken with the hand. Mancipate signifies

to lay the hand upon,—to bring under subjection; *emancipate*, to remove the hand that held down,—to set free from slavery.

2. As a punishment for crime.—Those who neglected to enrol themselves as subjects of the Roman government, or who refused to enlist in the Roman army, had their goods confiscated, and, after being scourged, were sold beyond the Tiber. When grievous criminals were condemned to the mines, or to fight with wild beasts, or any other extreme punishment, they were first deprived of their privileges as Roman citizens, and termed slaves of punishment; but in case of their escaping with life, they became free men.

3. By sale.—There was a continual market for slaves at Rome, where the sellers brought them from various countries. The seller was bound to promise for the soundness of his slaves, and not to conceal their faults. Hence they were commonly exposed to sale naked, and carried a scroll hanging at their necks, on which their good and bad qualities were specified. If the seller gave a false account, he was bound to make up the loss, or take back the slave. Those whom the seller would not warrant were distinguished by wearing a kind of cap. Foreign slaves had their feet whitened with chalk, and their ears bored. When first brought to the city, they were called *novices*, new, or inexperienced slaves. Those who had served long were called *veterans*, a phrase intended by them to express not only long experience and consequent aptitude in business but *artfulness*—a quality which they justly concluded was likely to be acquired under the oppression of slavery.

It was not lawful for free-born Roman citizens to sell themselves for slaves. Much less was it allowed for any other person to sell freemen. Fathers might, indeed, sell their children to slavery, and insolvent debtors were sometimes given up to their creditors; but their state was not that of absolute slavery, and, if freed from it, they could be reinstated in their former privileges; but if any allowed themselves to be sold, for the sake of sharing the price, they were condemned to remain in perpetual slavery.

4. The children of female slaves became the property of the master. No regular marriage was allowed among slaves, but they were encouraged to live in promiscuous intercourse, and their wretched children inherited, together with their degraded births, the bitterness of slavery. In after ages, when the marriage of slaves was acknowledged, they were not allowed to marry without the permission and consent of their masters. The master of a family was called lord, or tyrant.

Slaves not only did all kinds of domestic services, but were likewise employed in various trades and manufactures, and some were instructed in literature and the fine arts. These usually sold at a great price: a learned slave sometimes sold for several hundred pounds, though the price of a common slave was as low as four drachmas, about three shillings of our money. One can scarcely forbear smiling to read of a physician-slave, a surgeon-slave, a schoolmaster-slave, a grammarian-slave, a scribe-slave, &c. for thus they were commonly distinguished, according to their several employments. Is it not almost incredible that it should be possible to enslave and constrain the

services of persons of liberal acquirements? yet we have abundant evidence that such was really the case. Indeed, it has been observed that the slaves of antiquity were often more learned and more polished than their masters. The Romans were instructed in science and the fine arts by their Grecian captives, and, generally speaking, the more polished nations have fallen under the yoke of less civilized enemies. The conquerors were mere barbarians, in point of intellect and civilization, in comparison with the nations they vanquished, and even of the slaves they found in those conquered countries. What a reflection on the modern abettors of slavery!

Among the Romans, masters had an absolute power over their slaves. They might scourge or put them to death at pleasure; indeed, prisoners of war were sometimes saved from the edge of the sword only to shed their blood in the amphitheatre, where, for the brutal amusement of spectators, they were compelled to fight with each other as gladiators, or to contend with wild beasts. In a battle with the ancient Saxons, many were reserved for the purpose; and an orator bitterly complained "that twenty-nine of these desperate savages, by strangling themselves with their own hands, had disappointed the public of the amusement." The lash was the common punishment; but sometimes the slaves were branded in the forehead, and sometimes were forced to carry a piece of wood round their necks wherever they went. When slaves had suffered any of these punishments, they were ever afterwards subjected to a name that perpetuated them as "the beaten," "the branded or stigmatized," &c. When beaten, they were suspended,

with a weight tied to their feet, so that they could not move or resist. By way of terror, a thong or lash, made of leather, was commonly hung in sight of the slaves. Another mode of punishment was to shut them up in a workhouse or bridewell, under ground, where they were obliged to work a mill for grinding corn.

If a slave was sentenced to death, the usual mode of carrying the sentence into effect was by crucifixion, that death being considered the most painful and ignominious, and employed only in case of the most degraded of men, and the vilest of malefactors. While we, as christians, abhor the idea of there being one law for dignified sinners, and another for degraded sinners, we cannot but be struck at the amazing condescension of our blessed Lord, who, though infinitely exalted above all blessing and praise, as well as perfectly holy, harmless, and separate from sinners, yet consented to be numbered with the transgressors, and dealt with as the vilest of the vile, in order that his degradation might issue in our glory, and that by his stripes we might be healed.

If a master of a family was slain in his own house, and the murderer not discovered, all his domestic slaves were liable to be put to death. It is on record that, on one such occasion, no less than four hundred slaves were put to death. The number of slaves was immense. Some rich individuals possessed, not for use, but ostentation, ten thousand and even twenty thousand slaves.

Slaves were not esteemed as *persons*, but as *things*, and might be transferred from one owner to another, like any other effects. They could not appear as witnesses in a court of justice, nor make

a will, nor inherit property, nor serve as soldiers. Such was their legal condition. There were, however, exceptions on very extraordinary occasions; and the humanity and gentleness of masters sometimes conferred on the slave many advantages. On one memorable occasion, during the wars between Rome and Carthage, eight thousand slaves volunteered their services; they were armed without being freed, and afterwards received their freedom as a reward for their bravery. Slaves had a certain allowance granted them for their sustenance, which appears to have been liberal. Whatever they could spare from this they were permitted to hold as property; as also their earnings, in any leisure portion of their time allowed them by their masters. This money, with their masters consent, they laid out to interest, until they could purchase a slave for themselves, by whose labours they might derive profit. By this, or some other speculation, they, in time, obtained the means of purchasing their own freedom, which it appears the master could not then withhold. Captives taken in war, if sober and industrious, might generally obtain their liberty within six years. At certain times, however, the slaves were obliged to make presents to their masters out of their poor savings, by way, it should appear, of acknowledging their superiority and right to the whole. On the other hand, as if to remind the masters of their equality of nature, at certain seasons the slaves were allowed the greatest freedom, and were even waited on at table by their masters.

If, however, the condition of slaves was rendered much more tolerable by their being placed

under humane and gentle masters, there are not wanting instances of an opposite character. Some slaves were compelled to work in chains, and some were confined to workhouses under ground, and, having toiled their best days in the service of their masters, were left in their old age to perish for want. Even the famous Roman, Cato, a man celebrated in all ages for his exact observance of the nicest rules of justice, in his conduct to his slaves seems entirely to have overlooked them. Notwithstanding his slaves had been very faithful and serviceable to him, when years came upon them, and they were no longer capable of hard labour, he made no scruple of turning them away without the means of sustaining nature; or even suffered them to starve to death in his own family. In writing to a friend, respecting the cultivation of his land, he advises him, as the best economy, to have none but vigorous and active slaves in the prime of life; and, as soon as their strength fails, through excess of labour, to get rid of them, and obtain a fresh supply. Such are the tender mercies of heathenism. Alas! that it should be possible to find a parallel among those who bear the christian name. Having mentioned this circumstance to the disparagement of so great a man as Cato, it is pleasing, as well as just, to add another fact much to his honour. When any of his slaves had committed offences which the laws of his country invested him with the power of punishing, even to death, before he condemned them he consulted their fellow-slaves, and followed their opinion as to the evidence of the crime and the degree of punishment due; thus instituting into his domestic

establishment the invaluable privilege of trial by jury, instead of inflicting summary punishment on the offender.

There were, among the Romans, public slaves, employed in various public services, especially to attend on the magistrates. They had yearly allowances granted to them by the public, and their condition was much more tolerable than that of private slaves. There were, also, slaves attached to the soil, from which they could not be separated, so that a person selling an estate had no right to remove his slaves, but sold them also as part of the property.

It should be observed that, harsh as the Roman laws appear to us, in giving a master the absolute power of life and death over his slave, it is no more than was given to a father over his own family. A father was at liberty to sell his children or grandchildren, or to put them to death. A son was in the strictest sense the slave of his father, for he could neither acquire personal liberty nor property during the life of his father, except the father were pleased to emancipate him, which was done by selling him three times in the presence of a magistrate. Daughters and grand-children, if sold once, were free of their father; and if they by any means regained their liberty, were not again liable to him; but a father having once sold his son, if he gained his liberty, the father might again lay claim to him, until he had been sold three times.

When a slave was freed by the voluntary act of his master, or redeemed from slavery by the benevolence of another person, he was called the freed man of such an one, and the patron retained various rights over him. If the patron was reduced

to poverty, the freed man was bound, in the same manner as a son, to support him, according to his ability. The patron, also, was expected to support his freed man, if poor; and if he failed to do this, was deprived of the rights of patronage. If a freed man died intestate, without heirs, the patron succeeded to his effects. If a freed man proved ungrateful to his patron, he was condemned to the mines, or at least reduced to his former condition of slavery. It may be observed, in passing, that these Roman laws, with which the apostle Paul, as a Roman citizen, was perfectly familiar, help us to perceive the beauty and force of many passages in his epistles, such as—"He that is called, is the Lord's freed man." "Ye are not your own, ye are bought with a price, therefore glorify God in your bodies and in your spirits, which are his."

It may be interesting to observe, that Rome, who had made so many slaves, was, on some occasions, herself enslaved. More than twenty thousand Romans were carried away captives and in chains into Germany, who were afterwards rescued by the emperor Julian. And when Rome was destroyed by the Goths, multitudes of the citizens, beyond computation, were suddenly reduced to the miserable condition of captives and exiles. The Goths, however, had more need of money than of slaves, and they suffered them to be redeemed at a moderate price, either by the benevolence of friends or the charity of strangers.

At a much later period of the Roman history, a most absurd and fanatical war was undertaken, called a crusade, with the professed object of rescuing the spot of the holy sepulchre of our Lord,

at Jerusalem, from the hands of the Saracens. This is mentioned merely for the sake of observing two facts connected with it: first, that many feudal slaves were enfranchised, on condition of serving in those wars; and, next, that when the Roman arms were victorious, and a great part of Palestine was subdued and brought under the Roman government, among the laws enacted, we find some affecting the peasants of the land and the captives taken in war—not providing for their relief or protection as men, but for their preservation or recovery as property. Like hounds or hawks that had strayed from the lawful owner, they might be lost and claimed. The slave and the falcon were esteemed of the same value; but three slaves were reckoned only equivalent to one war horse!

SECT. VIII.—SLAVERY AMONG THE JEWS.

The closing incidents of the last section would bring us to notice feudal slavery in Europe; but we shall first go back to the period when, from the slavery of the Israelites in Egypt, we broke off from sacred history, to gather up from other sources some particulars respecting ancient slavery in Egypt, Greece, and Rome. We resume the narrative and the institutes of scripture.

In the law of God, slavery is often spoken of as a punishment for idolatry and other sins; but in these cases it is rather declarative of the purposes of God than preceptive, or enjoining it on any person to inflict it. This distinction has been overlooked by the modern advocates of slavery, who have attempted to justify themselves by the plea that they were but fulfilling the purposes of

God, who has declared that the posterity of Canaan, the son of Ham, should be in servitude to their brethren; and that the degenerate Jews should be despised and oppressed in strange lands. We have no reason to conclude that the negroes are the descendants of Canaan; and, even if this were certain, no individual or nation can produce any warrant from the word of God for enslaving an African or oppressing a Jew. The general tenour of the word of God authorizes us to become co-workers with Him in promoting the happiness of mankind; but no person is required, or has a right, to inflict on others the judgments of God, without his express warrant and commission; else might the Jews, who "with wicked hands crucified and slew the Lord of glory," justify themselves by the plea that they only did what "the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God" appointed to be done. To return from this digression. The enslavement of the degenerate Jews is often predicted, and remarkably fulfilled; so that the chapters which denounce these and other calamities may be read as a prospective history of the Jews to the present day. See Lev. xxvi.; Deut. xxviii., xxix., xxxii. After the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, immense numbers of the captives were sent to Egypt and other countries, and there sold for slaves, at a vile price and for the meanest offices; indeed, the multitude was so great, that purchasers could not be found for them all at any price, and, in consequence, many thousands were left to perish for want. At a later period, in several countries, particularly those remarkable for popish bigotry, Spain and Portugal, all the children of the Jews

were taken from them by the state, and compelled to be baptized, and to profess a religion which their parents abhorred, they neither having power to resist the violence done them, nor the means of rescuing their enslaved offspring. (See Deut. xxviii. 32.)

With respect to the holding of slaves among the Hebrews, it was placed under certain limitations as to the possession, and regulations as to the treatment, calculated to mitigate the condition of slaves.

In acquiring slaves, man stealing was, under the Mosaic law, reckoned a high crime, and invariably punished with death. Some have supposed that this restriction applied only to obtaining possession of the person of a free-born Israelite. Certainly it would be an aggravation of the crime to burst the bands of fraternal obligation, by compelling a brother to labour as a slave, and especially to sell him as a slave to idolaters; yet, on the whole, it appears that the crime of man-stealing intended the seizing or enticing away *any human being*, and employing him as a slave, or selling him unto slavery. Exod. xxi. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7. At all events, national distinctions are now done away, and it must be equally criminal to steal or buy a man of any nation or colour. It is a matter of rejoicing that our British laws are no longer chargeable with the inconsistency of condemning to death the man who, in England, should steal a horse or a sheep, yet uttering no censure against him if he should go to Africa and steal, or purchase of those who steal, hundreds of men and women.

Slaves might be acquired as captives in war. This does not appear to have been permitted in

the wars with the wicked and devoted Canaanites, but in any necessary war with foreign nations, in which Israel might afterwards be engaged. They were first to invite the city to peace, but if that were rejected, they were to attack it; and when the Lord their God should give them the victory over their enemies, the adult males were to be put to death, not in a spirit of cruelty and private resentment, but as an execution, commanded against such as were hardened rebels against God, and likely, if spared, to be a constant temptation to Israel. The women and children, together with the rest of the spoil, were to be taken by the Israelites and employed in their service. Deut. xx. 14. Slaves thus acquired appear to have been in a state of servitude for life, unless they were ransomed; and they might be sold by their captors.

Persons committing a theft, when they had not the power of making restitution, were enslaved for a period, not exceeding six years, and probably not exceeding the appointed restitution, according to the value of the property stolen. Exod. xxii. 2, 3.

Some were slaves by debt. It appears that the creditor of an insolvent debtor had power over the family as well as the person of the debtor, as far as the amount of his claims. The widow of the poor prophet complained to Elisha that, being unable to pay the debts of her deceased husband, the merciless creditor threatened to take her two sons for bondmen. 2 Kings iv. 1. In the time of Nehemiah, some of the Jews were very oppressive to their brethren, who, in time of dearth, had been constrained to become their debtors for the necessaries of life; they took their sons and

daughters into bondage. Neh. v. 1—5. The same severity appears to have been practised in the time of our Lord. In the parable of the unmerciful servant, the king is represented as calling on his servant for the payment of a large debt: "And forasmuch as he had not to pay, his lord commanded him to be sold, and his wife and children, and all that he had, and payment to be made," Matt. xviii. 25.

Finally, slavery sometimes originated in birth. If a married Hebrew sold himself for a slave, in the seventh year he was to go out free, with his wife and children; but if a master gave to his slave one of his female slaves as a wife, in the seventh year he went out, but his wife and children remained as the property of the master. These children were termed "born in the house," or "home born," and the "sons" or children "of handmaids." Exod. xxi. 2—4; Gen. xiv. 14; xv. 3; xxi. 10; Ps. lxxxvi. 16; cxvi. 16.

N.B. Whenever slaves are spoken of as bought with money, we have every reason to conclude either that they sold themselves for debt, or that they were captives of war, passed from one owner to another. See Gen. xvii. 13, 23.

From the manner of acquiring slaves among the Jews, we pass on to their condition and treatment. They received both food and clothing, but whatever other property they acquired belonged to their lords; hence the slave is said to be worth double the value of a hired servant; and hence the master was admonished not to grudge his departure at the end of the sixth year; and, moreover, that he should not be sent away empty, but liberally furnished from the flock, the corn-floor, and the wine-press, to the increase of which his labour,

under the blessing of God, had contributed, and from which he might justly expect some contribution towards once more beginning the world for himself. Deut. xv. 12—18. The proportion to be bestowed on the liberated servant was not specified, but it was left to every one's conscience, in the sight of God, when all circumstances had been duly considered. This latitude would, to a generous mind, be a strong inducement to liberality, and a good master would delight in amply rewarding a diligent and faithful servant, and in witnessing his future prosperity.

The head of the household was generally as a father in the midst of his family, not oppressing his slaves, or keeping them at a contemptuous distance, as beings of an inferior order, but considering their claims, defending their cause, promoting their comfort, and providing for their religious instruction. Slaves formed, by far, the greatest part of that household, respecting which it was said, to Abraham's commendation, "I know him, that he will command his children and household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment," Gen. xviii. 19. We do not know the date of the history of the patriarch Job, whether before or after Abraham; he, however, was evidently actuated by similar principles of humanity and religion. "If," said he, "I did despise the cause of my man-servant, or my maid-servant, when they contended with me, what, then, shall I do, when God riseth up? and when he visiteth, what shall I answer him? Did not he that made me in the womb, make him? and did not one fashion us both in the womb?" Job xxxi. 13—15. Such considerations, it is to be feared, have had too little weight with

modern slave-masters. Under this mild and humane treatment slaves were attached and faithful to their masters, and might safely be trusted with arms in defence of their master, his property, or his friends. Gen. xiv. 14; xxxii. 6; xxxiii. 1. The chief employment of slaves was in agriculture, husbandry, and other rural affairs, especially in earlier times, when the principal wealth of the patriarchs consisted in flocks, herds, camels, asses, &c., and their chief business in tending them. They were sometimes thought worthy to be trusted with very important business, and with the fulfilment of the most sacred wishes of a departed master (see Gen. xxiv.); and, in case the master dying without children, it was not uncommon to bestow a part, or the whole of his property, on faithful servants, Gen. xv. 2; or, in case of there being no sons in the family, the daughters were sometimes given in marriage to those who had been the slaves of the father. 1 Chron. ii. 34, 35.*

Among the special laws given to regulate the condition of slaves among the Jews, we find, (1.) That the Israelites were to treat them with humanity and kindness, whether they were of

* Similar practices have prevailed among the Eastern nations up to the present time. In Barbary, rich people, when childless, have been known to purchase young slaves, to educate them in their own faith, and sometimes to adopt them for their own children. The greatest men in the Ottoman empire were originally slaves brought up in the seraglio, and the Mameluke sovereigns of Egypt were originally slaves. This plan seems to have been adopted, in order that the officers of government might be without family connexions and influence. Thus, the advancement of Joseph in Egypt, and of Daniel in Babylon, both Hebrew slaves, corresponds with the modern usages of the East.

their brethren, who had sold themselves for debt or restitution, or foreigners whom they had purchased, (most probably, at first, captives in war,) Lev. xxv. 39—46. (2.) If a master struck his slave with a rod or staff, so as to occasion immediate death, he was to be punished by the magistrate; but if the servant survived a day or two, and then died, the master was acquitted of any intention to murder, and the loss of the slave was deemed a sufficient punishment, Exod. xxi. 20, 21. (3.) A slave who lost an eye, or a tooth, or other member, by a blow from the master, thereby gained his or her liberty, Exod. xxi. 26, 27. Under this law, interest, as well as humanity, would restrain a master from any act of violence toward his servant. (4.) All slaves were to rest from their labours on the sabbath, and on the great festivals, Exod. xx. 10; Deut. v. 14. (5.) Slaves were to be invited to partake with their masters of certain sacred feasts, viz., the Feast of the Second Tithes, and the Feast of Weeks, Deut. xii. 18; xvi. 9—12. These were feasts of gratitude and rejoicing for the ingathering the fruits of the earth, and other bounties of Providence, with which God had blessed his people. There was, therefore, a peculiar propriety in permitting the servants, who had shared the toils of sowing and reaping, to share also the pleasures of harvest home. (6.) In their conduct towards a female slave,—if a captive was taken in war, whom the captor admired, and desired to possess as his wife, he must not immediately marry her, but keep her in his house a full month, in order to give time for consideration, and for observing her temper and disposition, as well as trying the constancy of his attachment; after

this, he might take her to wife; but, if he grew weary of her, he must neither keep her as a slave nor sell her, but let her go free. If poverty compelled the parents of a young Jewess to sell her into servitude, which was seldom done, except there was an engagement that the person who bought her would take her as his wife, if he afterwards did not choose to fulfil this engagement, he might not sell her into another family, but must permit her to be redeemed. If he had betrothed her to his son, he was to deal with her as a daughter; and, in case of failure, she was at liberty to go forth free, without money, Exod. xxi. 7—11. (7.) Hebrew slaves, however acquired, could only be retained seven years, or until the sabbatical year. If, however, their attachment to their master, and the connexions formed in his family induced them to desire to remain, they were brought by their master before the magistrates, before whom they made a declaration that they disclaimed the privilege of the law. Their ears were then bored with an awl to the door-post of their master's house, intimating their purpose of attachment, attention, and obedience. After this, they had no longer the power of claiming liberty, but were bound to serve their master for ever; that is, for the whole term of their life, or until the next year of jubilee, which was the time of general release, Exod. xxi. 5, 6. (8.) If an Israelite was, from poverty, sold to a stranger, or an alien dwelling in the vicinity of the land of Canaan, if he came into the possession of property, he might purchase his ransom, or his relations were permitted to redeem him, and he was to repay the purchase-money, which was calculated from the time of his thraldom to the next

year of Jubilee, and deducting the years which he had already served, Lev. xxv. 47—55. These laws will, no doubt, have called to the mind of the young reader these well known lines, and given him some idea of the gladness with which such a sound was uttered and heard throughout the land of Israel:—

> "Blow ye the trumpet, blow,
> The gladly solemn sound;
> Let all the nations know,
> To earth's remotest bound,
> The year of Jubilee is come,
> Return, ye ransomed sinners, home."

If a slave of another nation fled to the Hebrews, they were required to receive him hospitably, and on no account to give him up to his master, Deut. xxiii. 15, 16.

This is a summary of the laws given on this subject to the Israelites during their sojourn in the wilderness. They were, of course, prospective, for at that time they had no opportunity of possessing slaves. Their first possession of this kind appears to have been after the wars with Midian. The Midianites were a very wicked people, who seduced Israel to sin; and God was pleased, in righteous vengeance, to command Israel to destroy that wicked people. The women were not to be spared, for they had been the principal seducers; nor the male children, probably lest, as they grew up, they should attempt to avenge the slaughter of their parents; but the Israelites were permitted to save alive the female children, and take them as slaves, subject, of course, to the laws already given. They were fairly distributed among the people. We have no farther account of them, or their conduct,

met a severe check, but it serves as an instance of the height to which the ambition, pride, and oppression of man, would rise, if unrestrained, and may well lead us to tremble at the idea of absolute power being lodged in the hands of man. 1 Kings xx.

In the reign of Jehoram, king of Israel, the Syrians made frequent inroads into the land, and carried away captives and spoil. It was one of these incursions that gave rise to the interesting fact of a little Israelitish girl being carried into the land of Syria, and placed in the family of the illustrious general Naaman, where her early knowledge of Israel's prophet, and Israel's God, proved the means of directing her master to obtain the cure of that inveterate disease, the leprosy, and the still more important blessing, a knowledge of salvation. This was a beautiful display of the influence of true religion, in disposing the little maid to render good for evil, and to bless him who had injured her; and, also, of the wise providence of God in overruling the oppression of man, and making it subserve the designs of his grace and the displays of his glory. 2 Kings v.

In the reign of Ahaz, king of Judah, the kings of Syria and Israel attacked Judah, and defeated Ahaz with a terrible slaughter of his army. The chief part of the army being slain, the rapacious conquerors easily seized upon an immense spoil, and a vast multitude of defenceless prisoners. They proceeded to take all the women and children, either to sell them, or to keep them for slaves. But a prophet of the Lord appealed to the Israelites, reminding them, that it was on account of the sins of Judah that they had been suffered to prevail against them, and that they, too, must be conscious

In several instances the Israelites did not fulfil the command of God in extirpating the Canaanites; many of them were permitted to dwell in the land as tributaries, and perhaps vassals, Josh. xvi. 10; Judges i. 27—35. These, however, became a snare to Israel, and led them into idolatry. That which at first sight appears but a *small* transgression against the commands of God, often proves the beginning of great sins and great consequent evils. The people of Israel declined farther and farther from the Lord their God, and sunk deeper and deeper into sin and idolatry, until, it is emphatically said, the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he delivered them into the hand of spoilers, that spoiled them, and he *sold them* into the hands of their enemies round about, Judges ii. 14; iii. 8. As the judge sold the criminals, or the creditor the debtor, for a slave, that the injured party might be reimbursed by their price, so the Lord, by punishing Israel, recovered, as it were, that glory of which they had robbed him by their sins, and he made the Canaanites the instruments of his righteous indignation. The miseries and oppression they endured were very great; and, in all probability, they were reduced to a degree of servitude as well as of heavy tribute; but their long-suffering and gracious God repeatedly interposed, and delivered them by the hand of judges.

In the better days of Israel, we find that the remaining descendants of the nations of Canaan were brought under subjection, and made bond-servants to Israel. Most probably they had renounced idolatry, and were spared on terms somewhat similar to those granted to the Gibeonites, that is, deprived of their lands, and required to render a certain portion of bond-service for their subsist-

ence. It does not at all appear that they were treated with rigour and cruelty, but merely that they were employed in the most laborious services, by which means the native Israelites were exempt from all but the more honourable employments. 1 Kings ix. 20—22.

Though not directly matter of history, some remarks in the expostulation of the prophet Samuel with the people of Israel, when they desired a king, lead us to form an idea of the arbitrary manner in which the monarchs of the east usually governed. Under the government of Moses, Joshua and the judges, the people of Israel had been exempt from oppression, and, in all probability, from taxation; but when they desired a king, Samuel warned them that they would, in all probability, experience a very different kind of government, according to the manner of other nations, where, as a natural consequence of absolute power entrusted to a fallen creature, prone to selfishness and folly, the luxury and magnificence of the sovereign were supported, ostentatious and useless works performed, and a vast military force kept up by burdensome exactions and cruel oppressions; in a word, authority was perverted into tyranny, and subjection changed to slavery. The Israelites had, comparatively, little reason to complain; yet, under some of their kings, at least, they no doubt experienced somewhat of the bitterness of oppression and thraldom. 1 Sam. viii. 10—18.

We have an interesting fact, incidentally recorded, which serves to show the unfeeling cruelty and neglect with which some masters in ancient times treated their slaves, and which has found too many a counterpart in modern days. When David

and his men set out in pursuit of the Amalekites who had plundered and destroyed the city of Ziklag, and carried away captives their wives and children, they found, in a field, an Egyptian, sinking in exhaustion and ready to perish. Being somewhat revived by the food they administered to him, he told them that he was slave to an Amalekite, and that, three days before, having fallen sick, his master had inhumanly left him to perish, considering a sick slave but of small value, and rather an encumbrance, and rating at nothing the life of a fellow-creature. Alas! the sands of Guinea, and the depths of the ocean, and the plains of the West Indies could, and in the day of judgment doubtless will, disclose many such tales of cruelty and wretchedness. But how strikingly was the righteous providence of God seen, in overruling the cruelty of this Amalekite master, to the destruction of the plundering army of Amalekites, and rendering the humanity of David and his followers to a sick and perishing stranger, the means of directing their pursuit, and obtaining the rescue of their families and property, 1 Sam. xxx. In the reign of David, a great conquest was gained over Moab, when two-thirds of the inhabitants were slain, and the remaining third made servants, 2 Sam. viii.

We have repeated instances of the oppression with which the backsliding Israelites were chastised by neighbouring nations. The Ammonites attacked Jabesh Gilead, a city near their borders, and reduced it to such an extremity, that the inhabitants offered to capitulate; to which their oppressive enemies would not consent, but upon the degrading condition, that every man should have his right eye thrust out, to be a standing reproach

In several instances the Israelites did not fulfil the command of God in extirpating the Canaanites; many of them were permitted to dwell in the land as tributaries, and perhaps vassals, Josh. xvi. 10; Judges i. 27—35. These, however, became a snare to Israel, and led them into idolatry. That which at first sight appears but a *small* transgression against the commands of God, often proves the beginning of great sins and great consequent evils. The people of Israel declined farther and farther from the Lord their God, and sunk deeper and deeper into sin and idolatry, until, it is emphatically said, the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he delivered them into the hand of spoilers, that spoiled them, and he *sold them* into the hands of their enemies round about, Judges ii. 14; iii. 8. As the judge sold the criminals, or the creditor the debtor, for a slave, that the injured party might be reimbursed by their price, so the Lord, by punishing Israel, recovered, as it were, that glory of which they had robbed him by their sins, and he made the Canaanites the instruments of his righteous indignation. The miseries and oppression they endured were very great; and, in all probability, they were reduced to a degree of servitude as well as of heavy tribute; but their long-suffering and gracious God repeatedly interposed, and delivered them by the hand of judges.

In the better days of Israel, we find that the remaining descendants of the nations of Canaan were brought under subjection, and made bond-servants to Israel. Most probably they had renounced idolatry, and were spared on terms somewhat similar to those granted to the Gibeonites, that is, deprived of their lands, and required to render a certain portion of bond-service for their subsist-

ence. It does not at all appear that they were treated with rigour and cruelty, but merely that they were employed in the most laborious services, by which means the native Israelites were exempt from all but the more honourable employments. 1 Kings ix. 20—22.

Though not directly matter of history, some remarks in the expostulation of the prophet Samuel with the people of Israel, when they desired a king, lead us to form an idea of the arbitrary manner in which the monarchs of the east usually governed. Under the government of Moses, Joshua and the judges, the people of Israel had been exempt from oppression, and, in all probability, from taxation; but when they desired a king, Samuel warned them that they would, in all probability, experience a very different kind of government, according to the manner of other nations, where, as a natural consequence of absolute power entrusted to a fallen creature, prone to selfishness and folly, the luxury and magnificence of the sovereign were supported, ostentatious and useless works performed, and a vast military force kept up by burdensome exactions and cruel oppressions; in a word, authority was perverted into tyranny, and subjection changed to slavery. The Israelites had, comparatively, little reason to complain; yet, under some of their kings, at least, they no doubt experienced somewhat of the bitterness of oppression and thraldom. 1 Sam. viii. 10—18.

We have an interesting fact, incidentally recorded, which serves to show the unfeeling cruelty and neglect with which some masters in ancient times treated their slaves, and which has found too many a counterpart in modern days. When David

and his men set out in pursuit of the Amalekites who had plundered and destroyed the city of Ziklag, and carried away captives their wives and children, they found, in a field, an Egyptian, sinking in exhaustion and ready to perish. Being somewhat revived by the food they administered to him, he told them that he was slave to an Amalekite, and that, three days before, having fallen sick, his master had inhumanly left him to perish, considering a sick slave but of small value, and rather an encumbrance, and rating at nothing the life of a fellow-creature. Alas! the sands of Guinea, and the depths of the ocean, and the plains of the West Indies could, and in the day of judgment doubtless will, disclose many such tales of cruelty and wretchedness. But how strikingly was the righteous providence of God seen, in overruling the cruelty of this Amalekite master, to the destruction of the plundering army of Amalekites, and rendering the humanity of David and his followers to a sick and perishing stranger, the means of directing their pursuit, and obtaining the rescue of their families and property, 1 Sam. xxx. In the reign of David, a great conquest was gained over Moab, when two-thirds of the inhabitants were slain, and the remaining third made servants, 2 Sam. viii.

We have repeated instances of the oppression with which the backsliding Israelites were chastised by neighbouring nations. The Ammonites attacked Jabesh Gilead, a city near their borders, and reduced it to such an extremity, that the inhabitants offered to capitulate; to which their oppressive enemies would not consent, but upon the degrading condition, that every man should have his right eye thrust out, to be a standing reproach

year of Jubilee, and deducting the years which he had already served, Lev. xxv. 47—55. These laws will, no doubt, have called to the mind of the young reader these well known lines, and given him some idea of the gladness with which such a sound was uttered and heard throughout the land of Israel:—

> "Blow ye the trumpet, blow,
> The gladly solemn sound;
> Let all the nations know,
> To earth's remotest bound,
> The year of Jubilee is come,
> Return, ye ransomed sinners, home."

If a slave of another nation fled to the Hebrews, they were required to receive him hospitably, and on no account to give him up to his master, Deut. xxiii. 15, 16.

This is a summary of the laws given on this subject to the Israelites during their sojourn in the wilderness. They were, of course, prospective, for at that time they had no opportunity of possessing slaves. Their first possession of this kind appears to have been after the wars with Midian. The Midianites were a very wicked people, who seduced Israel to sin; and God was pleased, in righteous vengeance, to command Israel to destroy that wicked people. The women were not to be spared, for they had been the principal seducers; nor the male children, probably lest, as they grew up, they should attempt to avenge the slaughter of their parents; but the Israelites were permitted to save alive the female children, and take them as slaves, subject, of course, to the laws already given. They were fairly distributed among the people. We have no farther account of them, or their conduct,

but would hope that many of them became worshippers of the God of Israel. Numb. xxxi.

It was expressly forbidden to the Israelites to make a league with any of the devoted nations of Canaan. It appears that they might spare the lives of such persons or tribes as chose to leave the country;* or, if they renounced idolatry, resigned their possessions, and submitted to remain among the Israelites as slaves, they might be permitted to do so. The inhabitants of Gibeon, one of the cities of the Hivites, alarmed at the report of Israel's victories, craftily drew them into a league, by pretending to come from a far distant country to seek their alliance. Flattered by their homage, and deceived by their specious pretences, the princes of Israel too hastily made a treaty, without asking counsel of the Lord. Like most other engagements entered into precipitately, and in the neglect of prayer, it involved them in many serious inconveniences; however, as the oath into which they had entered, not being in itself unlawful, was binding upon them, they were bound, not only to let the people live, but to protect them; but the engagement having been extorted under false pretences, was justly interpreted in its least favourable sense. They were, accordingly, not only made tributaries, but slaves, and their cities and lands were ceded to Israel, and the people were employed as hewers of wood and drawers of water to the congregation, and especially to the priests and Levites in the work of the sanctuary. Josh. ix.

* As no mention is made in scripture of the conquest of the Girgashites, one of the nations of Canaan, it has been conjectured that they, believing the power of Israel's God, fled into Africa, and that, from them, sprung the Carthaginians. See p. 37.

of having themselves grievously sinned against God, and dared they provoke his anger by enslaving their brethren? The remonstrance had its desired effect. The army willingly gave up both the captives and the spoil to the disposal of the princes; and, in the most noble and generous manner, all concurred in humanely providing for the wants and comforts of the captives, and conveying them back to their brethren. "The men which were expressed by name rose up, and took the captives; and, with the spoil, clothed all that were naked among them, and gave them to eat and to drink, and arrayed them, and shod them, and anointed them, and carried all the feeble of them upon asses, and brought them to Jericho, to their brethren," 2 Chron. xxviii. 1—15.

After a long series of idolatries and wickedness, interrupted, indeed, by several partial reformations under the best of their kings, the Jews were at length carried captives by their enemies into the land of Assyria, where they remained during a period of seventy years, as predicted by the prophets. It is remarkable, that one of the crimes distinctly mentioned as filling up the iniquity of this wicked people, and bringing on them the vengeance threatened, was their disregard of the Divine law, that a Hebrew who had become a slave, having served seven years, should be free. When Jerusalem was besieged by the Chaldeans, king Zedekiah (most probably excited by the reproofs of the prophet Jeremiah) entered into a solemn covenant with the people to set at liberty all their Hebrew slaves, and it was proclaimed that none should, on any pretence, thus illegally use the service of their brethren. But when the army of

modern slave-masters. Under this mild and humane treatment slaves were attached and faithful to their masters, and might safely be trusted with arms in defence of their master, his property, or his friends. Gen. xiv. 14; xxxii. 6; xxxiii. 1. The chief employment of slaves was in agriculture, husbandry, and other rural affairs, especially in earlier times, when the principal wealth of the patriarchs consisted in flocks, herds, camels, asses, &c., and their chief business in tending them. They were sometimes thought worthy to be trusted with very important business, and with the fulfilment of the most sacred wishes of a departed master (see Gen. xxiv.); and, in case the master dying without children, it was not uncommon to bestow a part, or the whole of his property, on faithful servants, Gen. xv. 2; or, in case of there being no sons in the family, the daughters were sometimes given in marriage to those who had been the slaves of the father. 1 Chron. ii. 34, 35.*

Among the special laws given to regulate the condition of slaves among the Jews, we find, (1.) That the Israelites were to treat them with humanity and kindness, whether they were of

* Similar practices have prevailed among the Eastern nations up to the present time. In Barbary, rich people, when childless, have been known to purchase young slaves, to educate them in their own faith, and sometimes to adopt them for their own children. The greatest men in the Ottoman empire were originally slaves brought up in the seraglio, and the Mameluke sovereigns of Egypt were originally slaves. This plan seems to have been adopted, in order that the officers of government might be without family connexions and influence. Thus, the advancement of Joseph in Egypt, and of Daniel in Babylon, both Hebrew slaves, corresponds with the modern usages of the East.

their brethren, who had sold themselves for debt or restitution, or foreigners whom they had purchased, (most probably, at first, captives in war,) Lev. xxv. 39—46. (2.) If a master struck his slave with a rod or staff, so as to occasion immediate death, he was to be punished by the magistrate; but if the servant survived a day or two, and then died, the master was acquitted of any intention to murder, and the loss of the slave was deemed a sufficient punishment, Exod. xxi. 20, 21. (3.) A slave who lost an eye, or a tooth, or other member, by a blow from the master, thereby gained his or her liberty, Exod. xxi. 26, 27. Under this law, interest, as well as humanity, would restrain a master from any act of violence toward his servant. (4.) All slaves were to rest from their labours on the sabbath, and on the great festivals, Exod. xx. 10; Deut. v. 14. (5.) Slaves were to be invited to partake with their masters of certain sacred feasts, viz., the Feast of the Second Tithes, and the Feast of Weeks, Deut. xii. 18; xvi. 9—12. These were feasts of gratitude and rejoicing for the ingathering the fruits of the earth, and other bounties of Providence, with which God had blessed his people. There was, therefore, a peculiar propriety in permitting the servants, who had shared the toils of sowing and reaping, to share also the pleasures of harvest home. (6.) In their conduct towards a female slave,—if a captive was taken in war, whom the captor admired, and desired to possess as his wife, he must not immediately marry her, but keep her in his house a full month, in order to give time for consideration, and for observing her temper and disposition, as well as trying the constancy of his attachment; after

among all the damsels of the Persian empire as the queen of that monarch; and Mordecai, her kinsman, who became his prime minister.

Remarkable interpositions of Providence brought about the elevation of these individuals; and their holy and consistent conduct was eminently honoured, both in bringing glory to the God of Israel, and in working deliverances for his captive people. Perhaps the young reader, whose mind has been interested in the affecting details of slavery, and the sacred triumphs of its abolition, will read with a new interest the books of Daniel, Esther, Nehemiah, and Ezra, as connected with the slavery and deliverance of the nation of the Jews. He will observe, how the wonder-working hand of Providence then brought real good from seeming evil, and will be encouraged to hope that even the slavery of Africa will be rendered subservient to the establishment of the gospel of truth and liberty, and that thus the wrath of man will be made to praise God, who has so wonderfully restrained the remainder of that wrath.

It would appear that the Jews who did not avail themselves of the first proclamation of Cyrus, to return to Jerusalem, were afterwards restrained from doing so, and remained in a kind of captivity under the Persian government, rather tolerated than protected, not restrained from pursuing their useful callings, by which they contributed in no trifling degree to enrich and accommodate the nation among whom they dwelt, but by no means secure of the enjoyment of the fair produce of their industry: hence many Jewish families were impoverished in circumstances, and diminished in number. Such appears to have been the case with

the family of Hadassah, or Esther, and her kinsman, Mordecai. But whatever might be the circumstances of particular families or individuals, the malignant proposal of Haman to king Ahasuerus, (see Esther iii. 8—10,) leads us to infer two things: first, that no great respect was paid to the rights of justice and humanity, as due to the captive Jews, or their blood-thirsty enemy would not have dared to make such a proposal, much less would he have gained the ready, uninquiring permission of his monarch, to put to the sword a whole nation of unoffending subjects, with as little ceremony as if the permission had been to cut down a field of corn; and, secondly, that the Jews must have been numerous, important, and profitable to the government, or Haman would not have thought it necessary to offer a sum, amounting to about four millions sterling, by way of compensation for the loss of revenue, which he, no doubt, expected to raise out of the property of the massacred Jews. These suppositions are confirmed by the tenor of Esther's appeal, when pleading with the king for her own life, and that of her people, whom the decree of Haman had consigned to destruction:—"We are sold," said she, "to be destroyed, to be slain, and to perish. But if we had been sold for bondmen and bondwomen, I had held my tongue, although the enemy could not countervail the king's damage," Esther vii. 4. It is evident that the Jews, though in a state of captivity, were not, in general, bond-servants; also, that they were so useful and valuable to the state, that the compensation offered could never make up the loss which the king would have sustained by thus oppressing his peaceable and industrious servants.

After the return from the captivity, Nehemiah, Ezra, and other pious and liberal persons, to the utmost of their ability, ransomed from slavery such of their poor brethren as had been sold among the heathen; but there were, among the wealthy and noble of the Jews, others of a different spirit. In a time of general distress they took advantage of the necessities of their brethren, and cruelly oppressed them; not only compelling them to mortgage their lands, vineyards, and houses, but, in direct violation of the Divine law, selling their sons and daughters for bond-slaves, in payment for the assistance they had been compelled to solicit, in order to obtain the necessaries of life. Nehemiah forcibly expostulated against their extortion and oppression, and prevailed upon them to liberate the enslaved children, and to make a solemn engagement against usury and oppression, the rich consenting to assist the poor in time of distress, and to wait for payment in better times. In later ages there have been too many ready to follow the example of oppression and cruelty; they have been careless of the welfare, and callous to the miseries, of their fellow-creatures, and have usurped authority over them as bond-slaves, especially as their own wealth, power, and prosperity increased. But how few have followed the noble example of penitence and reformation, in yielding to the force of principle and conscience, and permitting the oppressed to go free. There does not appear to be any other distinct reference to slavery than those which have been already referred to, except that in the prophetical description of the destruction of Babylon (generally supposed to signify anti-christian Rome). Among the various articles of her

Pharaoh came out of Egypt to assist the Jews, (like too many who forsake their sins only in terror and alarm for the consequences,) flattering themselves that the danger which threatened Jerusalem was over, they impiously broke their solemn covenant; and, with the most cruel injustice, reduced to slavery the very persons to whom they had just before given their freedom. In consequence of this awful violation of their sacred oath, and thus profaning the name of God, in refusing to fulfil their engagement to proclaim liberty to the captives, God, in awful justice, proclaimed liberty to sword, pestilence, and famine, to seize upon them and destroy them, or carry them captives to the ends of the earth. Jer. xxxiv. 8—22.

We do not exactly know the extent of their bondage; perhaps, at different times, it was more or less severe, according to the temper of the governors. It is plain that the conquering governments claimed the right of employing the talents and acquirements of the captives in its service, and of directing their studies and pursuits to that end. Thus Daniel and his companions, of the royal house of Judah, were selected, and placed under a course of education for three years, in order to qualify them for posts of service at court. It seems to have been a great object with the victors, to alienate them from the customs, and especially from the religion, of their native land. Hence their very names were changed to such as had some reference to the idols of Babylon; and a daily portion of meat and wine was assigned them from the king's table, to familiarize them with the luxurious, and probably idolatrous customs of the court. Their noble abstinence, and the peculiar blessing

with which they were honoured, claim the notice of every young person. *These* youths, it is probable, were unacquainted with the hardships and privations of slavery, to which, perhaps, many of their fellow-countrymen in the humbler ranks of life, or with less attractive abilities, might be exposed. *All*, however, shared the distress of being exiled from the land of their nativity, and the holy city and "beautiful house" where their fathers had worshipped God; and all were exposed to the cruel taunts and derision of their insulting foes, who most of all upbraided them for their lingering attachment to their religion. This period called forth some exquisite expressions of patriotism and piety from the captive Jews:—"By the rivers of Babylon there we sat down; yea, we wept when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows, in the midst thereof; for there they that carried us away captive required of us a song, and they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying, 'Sing us one of the songs of Zion.' How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning; if I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy," Ps. cxxxvii. 1—6. Several of the captives were raised to situations of high honour and trust under government; such as Daniel, a high officer under Nebuchadnezzar, and prime minister under Darius and Cyrus; and his three companions, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, who were rulers in the province of Babylon; Nehemiah, who was cup-bearer to the king Ahasuerus, or Artaxerxes Longimanus; Esther, who was selected from

riches. Those who remained under their depressing circumstances, lost all spirit, energy, and independence; accustomed to look up to a superior, and tamely to receive all his commands, in time they lost, not only the habit, but the capacity, of deciding for themselves, or of acting from the impulses of their own minds. Such a tendency has oppression to degrade and debase the human mind! This state of things could not, however, last long. The Roman empire became like an overgrown establishment, committed to the management of mercenaries, whose only aim was to enrich themselves, while they defrauded those above, and oppressed those beneath them. It was constantly liable to internal commotions, and exposed to assaults from without; for however wide the empire of oppression may extend, unless it comprehend the globe, it is not beyond the reach of assault. There were some parts of Germany, which the Roman arms had not penetrated, inhabited by fierce adventurous tribes. A great part, also, of the North of Europe, and the North-west of Asia, had also remained unexplored. The wild barbarians of these countries, at first attracted only by desire of plunder, made short incursions into the Roman provinces, and returned; but success emboldened enterprize. The spoil they acquired, and the accounts they brought of the luxuries and comforts possessed by civilized nations, in more cultivated lands, or more genial climates, excited new adventurers, and it seemed as if new nations arose, or issued from unknown regions, to take vengeance on the Romans, for the calamities which they had inflicted on mankind. Immense swarms of barbarians continually poured upon the Roman pro-

vinces. The jealousy of the Romans had deprived the natives of the use of arms; and being already oppressed, they had neither spirit nor inclination to resist their invaders, from whom they had little to fear, because their condition could hardly be rendered more unhappy. The barbarians pushed their conquests over every part of the Roman empire, and completely subverted the power and policy of Rome; so that, in about two centuries from their first irruption, the whole empire was divided among the various tribes of barbarous conquerors; the ancient inhabitants almost exterminated, and in every part new forms of government, new laws, customs, languages, modes of dress, and even names of men and countries, were introduced. The lands and other properties were divided among the conquerors, in proportions according to the rank they had held in the victorious army, and with an engagement to assist each other in defence of their property, and opposition against a common enemy. These were called *freemen*, and they alone were permitted to take arms, so that the names of a soldier and a freeman were synonymous. The few remaining inhabitants of each land were placed in a state of vassalage under their conquerors, probably alloted in some such proportion as the lands and other spoil. This new division of property, together with the maxims and manners to which it gave rise, introduced a species of government before unknown, distinguished as the *feudal system*. It prevailed towards the close of the sixth century, and continued during what are denominated the dark ages, comprehending part of the eleventh century. About that period the crusades were undertaken—a foolish and superstitious

attempt to rescue the land of Judea, and especially the sepulchre of our Lord, from the hands of the infidels. Useless as was this enterprize in itself, it was productive of good in two respects. Travel and intercourse with other nations had a natural tendency to excite inquiry, emulation, and civilization; men could scarcely return the same ignorant barbarians that they set out. It was also the occasion of giving freedom to many who had before been in vassalage, as, in order to raise the vast armies, from time to time required, many were offered their freedom, on condition of serving in the crusades. Such of them as returned to their native country, brought with them the elevated feelings which befit the character of man, but which a state of slavery infallibly represses. Their children were born free, and taught to glory in their freedom, and to seek new privileges. By degrees, cities, towns, and various corporations were formed, and charters conferred on the inhabitants. This tended much to relieve the people from arbitrary oppression. The feudal system, however, continued in general operation until it gradually died away before the light of truth, equity, and liberty, which dawned in the reformation from popery. During its prevalence, the condition of the peasantry was truly wretched. Their masters had absolute dominion over them, and might inflict any kind of punishment without judge or trial. This dangerous power was possessed as late as the twelfth century; and even after it was laid under some restraint, the life of a slave was deemed of so little value, that a very slight compensation atoned for taking it away, and scarcely any bounds were set to the rigour of punishment inflicted on them. In

almost every particular there was one law for the free man, and another for the slave. For a crime which required of the free man a small fine, a slave was exposed to corporal punishment. Slaves could not give evidence against a free man in a court of justice; but might be put to the rack, on the slightest occasion, to extort confession, if suspected of any offence against their masters. The same humiliating distinction ran through every particular: even their dress was different; and, as long hair was esteemed a mark of dignity, slaves were compelled to shave their heads close. Masters had an absolute controul over the actions and property of their slaves. For several centuries slaves were not permitted to marry at all. Their intercourse was allowed, and even encouraged, but no attachment or fidelity on their part could entitle them to the nuptial benediction of a priest, or to have their union acknowledged as lawful marriage; and when, at length, they were advanced to the capability of contracting lawful marriage, they were not permitted to do so without the consent of their master; and such as ventured to act without that permission, were punished with great severity, and sometimes even put to death. On some occasions, a beautiful female slave, being sought in marriage by an opulent free man, was sold by her master at a high price, and transferred without regard to her own feelings or engagements. All the children of slaves became the property of the master; and all slaves, however acquired, could be sold at pleasure. As long as domestic slavery continued, slaves were sold in the same manner as any other moveable property. On the marriage of a daughter in a wealthy family, a train of useful servants was a common nuptial

present; they were chained on wagons to prevent their escape, and sent, perhaps, into a distant country. Afterwards they were attached to the land, and called predial slaves; they were then sold, and conveyed, or transferred by inheritance, together with the farm or estate. Slaves were only entitled to subsistence and clothes from their master; or if a stated allowance were given, the slave had no right of property in what he might save from it; all his accumulation belonged to his master. On the death of a slave, whatever he possessed belonged to his master. He could not bequeath anything to his nearest relatives, nor could they lay claim to it. In some cases vassalage was rendered much more tolerable; viz., where the slaves (or as this class of servants were generally denominated, *villeins*,) were not merely attached to the land, from which they could not be separated, but where they paid to the master a fixed sum for rent, or yielded him a certain quantity of labour; for example, so many days' labour during seed-time, hay-making, and harvest; or the ploughing, sowing, or reaping a certain quantity of land. This tribute duly rendered, the servant retained, as his own property, all the remaining fruits of his labour and industry. These remarks apply to the state of Europe in general. It will be interesting to trace, as particularly as we can, the circumstances of our own beloved country, in reference to the liberty or thraldom of the people, at different periods of her history.

In the times of the ancient Britons, the Druids, or priests, had a great, if not principal share in the government. One of their rules or maxims was—"All masters of families are kings in their own

house; they have a power of life and death over their wives, children, and slaves."

About fifty-five years before Christ, the Romans, who had already become masters of all Europe, the best parts of Africa, and the richest countries of Asia, turned their attention to this little island, which had hitherto retained its liberty, rather in consequence of its situation than its strength. Entirely detached from the continent, and its internal resources being unknown to the inhabitants thereof, it had been overlooked, perhaps, as having little to excite the rapacious desires of conquerors. Its very extent and population were unknown to the Romans. The Roman emperor, Julius Cæsar, was the first who entertained the project of adding Britain to the number of his conquests. He twice invaded Britain, where he met a vigorous resistance. His second invasion is generally termed the conquest of Britain by the Romans; that conquest however, was very incomplete, for the Britons preserved their liberty above ninety years longer. In the reign of Claudius, anno domini 44, the subjection of Britain to the Roman government was completed, though several brave, but ineffectual, struggles were afterwards made by the inhabitants to regain their liberty, especially under their king and general Caractacus, and some years afterwards by queen Boadicea, widow of Prasatugas. It is not necessary to detail the various attempts that were made to shake off the Roman yoke. A great number of Britons chose rather to lose their possessions than their liberty, and retired into Wales and the northern parts of Scotland, where the Roman arms had not penetrated. There they settled, and cultivated lands which had hitherto

been barren; and joining the original inhabitants of those parts, who had afforded them refuge, continually resisted the encroachments of the Romans, and maintained that precious liberty which most of their countrymen had lost. The Romans introduced among the remaining portion of the Britons, a degree of civilization before unknown. Arts and sciences soon flourished as much as in any other Roman province; and as refinement advanced among the former barbarians, their ardour for the recovery of liberty declined. In fact, they were, for the most part, pleased with their servitude.

A part of the policy of the Romans was to drain the conquered nations of their main strength, by taking their youth for soldiers, and transporting great numbers to other conquered provinces, to keep them at a distance from their native land and its associations. On this plan many Romans, Germans, and other foreigners, were brought into Britain to supply the place of the inhabitants who had been sent elsewhere. These all coalesced under the Roman government, civilization proceeded, and christianity was partially propagated. We have little account of the domestic circumstances of the country during a long period; but, as is usually the case, sooner or later, with all usurpers, the Romans, in time, found themselves encumbered with their conquests, and compelled to desert some in order to protect others. Thus it was that, in the year 410, the emperor Constantine being obliged to draw off his soldiers from the protection of Britain, voluntarily resigned the sovereignty of the island, and discharged the inhabitants of their allegiance to the empire. But liberty seemed now a boon scarcely worth receiving; in fact, was but an addition to

their misery, deprived as they were of the means of defending it. During a period of nearly forty years, they were exposed to frequent inroads from the inhabitants of the northern part of the island, and again and again they sought protection from their ancient conquerors the Romans, and afterwards from the Saxons, the latter of whom took advantage of their confidence, and, partly by craft, partly by force, made themselves masters of the country, and after a contest which lasted upwards of a century, established a government consisting of seven kings, and called the Saxon heptarchy, which lasted for two hundred and forty-three years. About the middle of that period christianity became nominally the religion of the country. In connection with this circumstance, an incident is mentioned which affectingly indicates the wretched state of our country, and the dark and gross ideas entertained on the subject of personal liberty and relative obligations. Some youths from Yorkshire were sold by their mercenary parents to Roman merchants, who exposed them for sale in the public market at Rome. "That trade," observes the historian, "was then commonly practised among the English, who made no scruple of selling their children when overstocked." The beauty of their fair complexions and blooming countenances attracted the notice and admiration of many persons in Rome to these British youths; among the rest, Gregory, then in a private station, but afterwards bishop of Rome, inquired to what country they belonged; and being told that they were Angles, and born of idolatrous parents, he regretted that so fair an exterior should cover benighted and degraded minds, and resolved to go and preach the

gospel to a nation for whose spiritual welfare he felt so deeply interested. His popularity and usefulness at home proved obstacles in the way of accomplishing his benevolent design at that time. He, however, bore it in mind, and afterwards took measures for sending missionaries to instruct the people in the christian religion. The effects of christianity were soon discerned in the steps taken for the melioration, or abolition of slavery. In 693 it was enacted by Ina, king of the West Saxons, that if a slave were compelled by his master to work on a Sunday, he should become a free man, and the master pay thirty shillings (then an enormous sum) as a fine.

In the year 696, Withred, king of Kent, decreed, that if a master gave freedom to his slave at the altar, his family also should be free; he should take his liberty and have his goods. At a general synod, in the year 816, it was provided, that, at the death of a bishop, every Englishman of his who had been made a slave in his days, should be set at liberty, and that every prelate and abbot should set at liberty three slaves, and give them three shillings each.

About the year 827 or 828 the seven kingdoms were united into one. This continued to the time of the Norman conquest, interrupted, however, by frequent invasions of the Danes, and struggles for superiority. These struggles were terminated by the celebrated battle of Hastings, in which the king (Harold) and his two brothers were killed, and William, the Norman Conqueror, became possessor of the throne of England. This took place in the year 1066.

In 877, Alfred, the great and good Saxon king

of England, ordained that some particular days should be granted to all slaves, to devote them to the society of those they loved, or to employ them in labour for their own benefit. He also decreed that, if a master forced his slave to work on a festival, he was to pay a heavy fine. In 945 it was decreed by king Athelstan, that, on certain occasions, "some one should be set at liberty, who, for his crimes, had been condemned to slavery," and this was to be done "for the mercies of Christ." The same statute observes, "It is necessary that every master be compassionate and condescending to his servants, in the most indulgent manner that is possible. The slave and the free man are equally dear to the Lord, who bought them, and bought them all with the same price; and we are all, of necessity, servants of God, and he will judge us in the same manner that we on earth judged them over whom we had a judicial power."

The period of Saxon ascendancy was professedly one of great liberty, but scarcely so in reality, because there was an invidious distinction maintained between noble and base blood. There was then little of the spirit of industry, enterprise, and intelligence, so common in our day, by which persons are enabled to surmount their early disadvantages, and, as they become possessed of wealth, gradually to glide into the higher ranks of society. Trade and commerce, by means of which the industrious poor have risen to affluence, were then comparatively unknown. This, without any positive law, tended to keep persons to their original rank in society; and if, by any extraordinary accident, a person of mean birth acquired riches, he was soon marked by the nobles as an object of

indignation and envy; and, in the unsettled and unequal state of the laws which then prevailed, it would have been impossible for him to defend the property he had acquired, or to protect himself from oppression, except by courting the patronage of some great man, and paying a large price for his safety, as well as binding himself to some kind of service or subjection to his patron; in fact, submitting to a degree of slavery. It is conjectured that there could not be in England less than a million slaves, (or *villeins*, as they were called,) by whom the land was cultivated, and who were attached to the lands of their arbitrary landlords. These were called *national* slaves, and enjoyed some peculiar privileges; in particular, they could not be separated from the land; indeed, no native subject could be legally sent beyond sea, though peasants too frequently sold their children, or themselves, into perpetual, and even foreign bondage, and the Anglo-Saxon nobility frequently disposed of their female servants in the same way. In the year 1102, a canon of council prescribed, "Let no one from henceforth presume to carry on that wicked traffic, by which men in England have hitherto been sold like brute animals." It is an established fact in history, that the English were generally in the habit of selling their children, and other relations, to be slaves in Ireland, without having even the pretext of distress or famine; and the port of Bristol, which has since sent out so many ships laden with human flesh to Africa, was then equally distinguished as a market for the same commodity. But under the influence of christian principles, the generous Irish, in a national synod, not only put an end to the nefarious traffic, but

emancipated all the English slaves in the kingdom. This took place in the year 1172. Ireland being then afflicted with public calamities, the clergy and people began to reproach themselves with the unchristian practice of purchasing and holding in slavery their fellow-men. Although these slaves were fairly paid for, and although they were natives of an island from which the Irish had begun to receive great injuries, it was unanimously resolved in council freely to set them at liberty. The Irish were, at that time, a much more enlightened people than the English. This fact has not been sufficiently remembered to the honour of Ireland, when pleading with Britons to impart the succours of humanity and the blessings of the gospel, to the ignorant and oppressed population of that interesting island.

It is also worthy of remark, that, in the division of the House of Commons, on the first motion of Mr. Wilberforce, for the abolition of the African slave-trade, after the Irish union, every Irish member present supported the measure. Ireland should be the land of the *free.*

To return to our own country. During the various revolutions of the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, the peasantry, together with the cattle, became the property of the successive conquerors.

On one occasion, Cedwalla, a king who had embraced the christian religion, under the instruction of Wilfred, presented to his instructor a tract of land, *with the persons and property of its inhabitants,* comprehending eighty-seven families. The bishop gave them their liberty, instructed them in the christian religion, and baptized into the christian faith two hundred and fifty slaves.

The number of slaves taken captive in war, was still greater than that of predial or rustic slaves. Of the treatment of these unhappy beings we know very little. It is to be feared that they were considered beneath the protection of the law, and left to the arbitrary authority of their possessors; but of the predial slaves we can collect some interesting particulars. This kind of slavery could legally emanate but from one source; viz., birth of servile parentage. It could not arise from contract, but must be hereditary. Every villein must have been born on the estate of a certain master, to whose ancestors his father and more remote progenitors had belonged. In case a master could not prove this claim, or if, on the death of a master, the successor or representative were unknown, the villeins might lawfully emerge from slavery into freedom; but then the question arose, Could they support themselves? Too often the spirit was crushed and broken by long habits of servile dependence, the opportunity of freedom was neglected, and the settlement of a new proprietor earnestly desired, who, together with controul, should receive the responsibility of supporting the vassals. It is even said that, in some instances, poor free men voluntarily and, indeed, illegally recorded themselves as villeins, thus entailing bondage on their posterity, as well as themselves. Some writers state, that if a free man married a *nief*, or female born in thrall, and settled on a villein tenure, he lost the privileges of freedom during his occupation; but others, on the contrary, say, that the nief, by marriage to a free man, herself became free, during his life; but, if left a widow, might be reclaimed by her former proprietor. These statements, probably, refer to

different periods, and serve to shew the progress of liberal sentiments in the legislature of our country. The Norman conquest certainly augmented, rather than infringed upon, the liberty of the subject; or rather tended to increase the proportion of free population, by enacting, that any person of servile condition, having lived a year and a day in one place without being claimed, should be entitled to perpetual freedom. Greater facilities were also given to voluntary emancipation. The laws gave the people legal rights, and rescued them from arbitrary bondage. The lords could not deprive the husbandmen of their land, so long as they did the proper service; nor could they be called upon to do any work beside the due service prescribed; nor could any person be sold out of the country. Peasants, also, had a right to leave the lands they occupied when they pleased, and to choose whom they pleased as masters; only, having no funds, they were constrained to seek the same mode of subsistence; so that, in fact, their service was a rent for the land they cultivated for subsistence. An easy mode of enfranchisement was established, and, from its publicity, tended not only to secure the freedom of the liberated, but to give the generous master the gratification of knowing that his bounty was witnessed by the first men in the district. In the full county court, he was to take his slave by the right hand, to deliver him to the sheriff, and to declare his manumission; to show him the open door, and to put into his hand the arms of a free man,—a lance and a sword. The sweetest blessing of life then became the legal property of the bondsman: from that moment he was irreversibly free.

Many humane statutes were enacted for the protection of the slave: if injured in life, or limb, his blood was not the less regarded on account of his servile state. The maimed villein, the insulted female, the son of a murdered slave, might appeal against their haughty lord, and not only inflict on him the penalty due to his offence, but, at the same time, obtain their liberty, as some reparation of their wrong.

The domestic slaves, in the service of the Saxon landholders, were generally distinguished by a brass ring, resembling a dog's collar, but without any opening, soldered fast round the neck, so loose as to form no impediment to breathing, yet so tight that it could not be removed, except by the file. On this humiliating gorget was engraven, in Saxon characters, an inscription, purporting the wearer to be "A. the son of B. and *born thrall* of C." Persons of this class filled most of the menial offices of the household and farm, as scullions, sewers, swineherds, goatherds, shepherds, neatherds, &c., each of whom carried their several badges of office, as a horn and staff, a crook, an ox-goad, or whatever else might belong to their office. Among the higher servants, one called a fool, or jester, was generally considered a necessary appendage to the dignity of a household of distinction. The talents requisite for filling this office were, mingled simplicity, shrewdness, and ready wit; especially an aptitude at knowing when to utter, and when to suppress, pointed remarks. These were among the vassals, and wore a similar badge to that above described, only of silver, instead of brass.

According to the simplicity of the times, these

domestic vassals not only fed in the house, but in the same hall with the family; and some extraordinary and affecting instances are related of their fidelity and attachment to a family with which they had been all their lives connected, and by whom they had, on the whole, been treated with kindness.

Sometimes, especially in moments of irritation, the latent spirit of freedom would arise, and prompt a man to attempt his escape from vassalage, but more frequently, persons in this capacity, rather prided themselves on the idea of being "faithful slaves;" and language like this has, on more than one occasion, been uttered:—"I resolved to renounce his service, but that was when he was fortunate; now he is in adversity I would hazard my life in his interest."

Vassals were not permitted to bear arms: hence the sword and buckler were regarded as the insignia of freedom; and for a master to put them into the hands of his slave, was synonymous with giving him his liberty; as, also, was the gift of a portion of land, however small: hence, probably, arose the term *a freeholder*, as applied to a person possessing land in his own absolute right. A late celebrated writer gives the following animated description of the ceremony of manumitting a born thrall: "Kneel down," said the master. In an instant the slave was at his feet. "THEOW* and ESNE† art thou no longer," said the master, touching him with a wand; "FOLKFREE‡ and SACLESS§ art thou,

* A slave.

† Property to be inherited.

‡ Free from being enrolled or claimed before an assembly or court.

§ Free from payment of service as a kind of rent.

in town and from town, in the forest as in the field; a hyde of land give I thee, in my steads, at——, from me and mine, to thee and thine, for aye and for ever. God's malison on him who this gainsays." No longer a serf, but a free man and landholder, the late sullen inactive clown sprung upon his feet, and twice bounded aloft, almost to his own height, from the ground. "A smith and a file," he cried, "to do away the collar from the neck of a free man! Noble master, doubled is my strength by your gift, and doubly will I labour or fight for you! There is a free spirit in my breast; I am a man changed to myself, and to all around!"

These voluntary enfranchisements, on the part of the master, were by no means infrequent. As the influence of christian principles spread, in that proportion men were convinced of the sinfulness of holding in bondage their fellow-men; and the evident advantage of being served by free men, instead of slaves, was so generally perceived, that interest, as well as principle, aided the cause of humanity. Many, in a formal manner, granted manumission to their slaves, and many more ceased to enforce their claims, and suffered their vassals to glide into the condition of free peasants, or hired servants. Thus a great and important change was wrought by imperceptible degrees, and through a change of manners, rather than of laws; and about the beginning of the sixteenth century the state of villeinage had ceased to exist in England. The redemption of captives taken in war, or of those who, from famine or other necessity, had sold themselves or their children as bondmen, was uniformly allowed, though the price was exorbitantly high if it were suspected that the slave or his friends had wealth at command. A ransom price was generally fixed as soon as the

captivity commenced; and the allowance granted to the slave for his labour was sufficiently liberal to allow him to look forward, at no very distant period, to obtaining his liberty by his own industry and frugality. It was considered unworthy of a civilized people, and of the christian name, that those who, from a pressing necessity, sold themselves in slavery, or who, by the calamity of war, fell into that condition, should lose their liberty for ever; and it was regarded as a christian duty, not only to facilitate the attainment of freedom where persons themselves held captives, but also to redeem from captivity those who had fallen into the hands of pagan enemies. This was very different from what had formerly been the case. The Venetian and Amalfitan merchants had carried on an extensive commerce with Asia and Africa, and in order to import their luxuries, had supplied the market of the Saracens with slaves. Their apology would, perhaps, have been, that they were purchased from their heathen neighbours; but a slave dealer was probably not very inquisitive as to the faith or origin of his victim, or the means by which he was deprived of his liberty. This trade was not peculiar to Venice, but practised even by our own countrymen; and however imperfect their views of christianity, to the influence of christianity we must ascribe it, that, at a later day, they were found, not only relinquishing their own captives in war, or forbearing to enslave them, but even redeeming those who had been captured by heathens. A christian having purchased or redeemed another from slavery, was entitled to his services until the price of redemption was repaid; and those who had sold themselves into slavery were at liberty to redeem themselves, by paying the price originally

given, with the addition of a fifth part. Among other promoters of the great and glorious principles of freedom, we must mention Wycliffe, the morning star of the Reformation. This great and good man flourished in the 14th century, having been born 1324; died 1384. In the same noble spirit with his other actions and sayings, he came forth from his obscurity, and taught princes and the nation at large, that it was contrary to the principles of the christian religion that any one should be a slave. He possessed great influence with John of Gaunt, the celebrated duke of Lancaster, and, through him, with the king (Edward III.), as well as with a large proportion of the nobility and gentry of England; and it is probable that the prevalence of his sentiments did much towards promoting emancipation. It is now upwards of three centuries since slavery of any kind existed in England. Its gradual abolition, under the influence of christianity, and the advantages resulting to society, serve to illustrate two very interesting sentiments: first, that christianity, without any express command for the abolition of slavery, has provided a sure and inoffensive corrective of all oppressive institutions, in the gradual influence of its liberal and benignant principles; and, second, that equity and humanity are consistent with sound policy, as well as with moral obligations. Where is the British nobleman or landholder now, who would, if he could, have the free and intelligent peasantry, by whom his lands are cultivated, and whose good will, attachment, and gratitude, he can insure by liberality and kindness, transformed into a race of sullen, degraded, and oppressed serfs, like those who toiled in the fields of his forefathers? No: all enlight-

ened persons and governments admit, as an established fact, that the interests and happiness of all classes of society can only be promoted and secured by a uniform regard to the original and unalienable rights of man, which exist antecedent to all distinctions in society, and which cannot be trampled upon with impunity. In any state, as soon as the life and property of the subject are secure, the labour and rewards of industry spontaneously arise, the arts of life flourish, the conveniences and comforts of life are multiplied, and contentment, peace, and prosperity prevail.

Germany.—Slavery among the Germans originated in captivity by war, birth of a bondwoman, and voluntary contract. In ancient times, they were sometimes so infatuated as to gamble away their freedom, and it was esteemed a point of honour that the loser should willingly submit to be sold by the winner. The laws of slavery were peculiarly mild. During the utmost rigour of slavery in the dark ages, masters dared not, under the severest penalties, to sell their slaves beyond the limits of the state or province to which they belonged; and, in better days, the slaves could not be alienated from the soil. All of these were of the agricultural class, and they appear to have been better off than the same class in England. Their services were limited, and not degrading. For a short time, when this people departed from their ancient simplicity, and learned the arts of luxury from the Romans, they adopted the use of domestic slaves; but the ancient state of things gradually returned, and domestic slavery fell into disuse: the slaves were again confined to agriculture, and domestic offices were filled by persons of free condition. In this con-

dition they had a legal right of holding and transmitting property, paying a certain tribute to the master, to whom, also, a certain part of the estate devolved on their death. If a master claimed possession of a slave, or villein, he could not establish it, unless at least two of his own villeins attended in court, who should acknowledge themselves the born vassals of the claimant, and prove their descent from the same male stock as the party claimed. The difficulty of obtaining such evidence generally secured to the defendant the advantage in all disputed cases; and as to the acquisition of slaves in war, it was an early effect of the adoption of christianity in Germany, to renounce the right in case of all christian captives. They were also zealous and liberal in redeeming their brethren from captivity among heathen, and in facilitating the liberation of the slaves of poverty.

Poland is one of the few countries in Europe where some remains of hereditary slavery yet exist. It is a sort of mitigated feudalism. Every peasant is provided by his lord with two oxen, two horses, and a cottage. In case of fire, his cottage is rebuilt; and in case of the death of his cattle, they are replaced by the landlord. A certain fixed portion of time and labour is appropriated by the master; the remainder they are at liberty to apply to their own profit or purposes. The number of days destined for the masters, differ in different parts, but in none is it so severe or exorbitant as not to leave time sufficient for the cultivation of their own land. They are not allowed to have property of their own, but are often endowed with it by their lords. In some parts of Poland the peasants are comparatively rich, or, at least, perfectly easy in their circumstances.

Russia retains a similar kind of vassalage; that which attaches a man to the place in which he finds himself situated, and renders him dependent on the lord of the soil. An immensely large proportion of the population are in this condition. Both in Poland and Russia the authority of the master over his vassals is restrained by law, nor has he the power of inflicting corporeal punishment.

Turkey has long been celebrated for its despotism. Some reference has already been made to the Mamelukes of Turkey, or Egypt, (p. 53, note,) and dreadful accounts may be gathered from history of the cruel slaughter, or scarcely less cruel captivity, of thousands, if not millions, that have attended their success in war in all ages.

Slavery still exists in Turkey to a frightful extent. For many centuries the whole nation of Greeks have been in complete subjection to the Turks, regarded and treated as the vilest slaves. It is only within the last few years that any attempts have been made by that interesting, though long oppressed people, to regain their ancient liberty.

All christians are liable to be seized and sold as slaves. None can remain in safety, except merchants, long and firmly established, or persons under very powerful protection. Persons, of whatever description, enslaved in Turkey, experience great oppression and hardships. The right of redemption, however, prevails through the Turkish empire, and is expressly recognized and regulated by the Koran, (or sacred book of the Mahometans.) The master is there commanded to give to all his slaves, or at least to all that behave themselves faithfully, a writing, fixing before hand the price at which they may be redeemed, and which he is

bound to accept, when tendered by them, or on their behalf.

Italy.—It has been justly remarked, that civil liberty and political influence have often been confounded. In ancient republican states, the idea of "the liberty of a citizen," always comprehended a participation in the government of his country. That liberty which consists in security, repose, domestic independence, and guarantee or protection against the abuse of power, was regarded only as a secondary and inferior kind of liberty, and the greater was overlooked and lost amidst clamorous demands and eager contests to secure the lesser. In the freest and proudest republics slavery was practised; a proof that the origin of human rights was traced, not to the dignity of the human species, but to some extrinsic circumstances, and regarded as having their foundation, not in natural, but in positive laws. They were accustomed every where to behold slaves and freemen. Liberty was an inheritance the same as property, and though the citizens had slaves in their fields, in their cities, and in their houses, the subjection of one part of the population to another never seemed to interfere with their idea of liberty; still they boasted of their republic. They forgot that all government is instituted for the happiness of *all* the people who submit to it.

These remarks will apply to the ancient states of Athens, Sparta, &c. The modern republic of Italy was distinguished from the republics of antiquity by the total extinction of domestic slavery. The natural results were, the diffusion of a greater respect for the dignity of man, and for the happiness of all classes. A spirit of industry and activity was diffused, the power of production was increased, and, in

consequence, greater riches were obtained. The first step to these improvements was taken in the emancipation of slaves. In the early days of the republic, when, indeed, it could scarcely deserve the name, consisting simply in a free state under the protection of the empire, the great mass of the population consisted of men who had themselves recently broken their chains. They opened an asylum within their walls to slaves who had escaped from the neighbouring lands of their masters. Thus began the abolition of slavery, the honour of which was alternately assigned to religion and philosophy; meanwhile, personal interest, in reality, accomplished it.

The progressive abolition of slavery, which from the cities extended to the country, is an important event in history. During the reigns of the Roman emperors, free cultivators of the soil had absolutely disappeared from the face of Italy. All was cultivated by droves of slaves, whom misfortune alone constrained thus to labour, and who toiled without a hope of recompense.

The invasion of the barbarians in a short time caused the disappearance of all the population of Italy, because the slaves were that part of the booty which the captors could remove with the least trouble, and dispose of to the best advantage; and slaves, always eager to change their condition, willingly followed their new masters, in the hope of meeting with more gentle treatment than they had before experienced; but thousands of them perished in their marches through the forests of Germany and Scythia. At length the barbarians, instead of farther ravaging the Roman provinces, resolved to settle themselves among them. Each captain, and each soldier, was lodged with a Roman

landholder, whom he compelled to share with him the produce of his grounds. Those of the ancient slaves, who remained in Italy, were in the same condition: but free cultivators, compelled to acknowledge a German or Scythian master, who was called their host, were constrained themselves to learn to work in cultivating land for vineyards and oliveyards, for their subsistence. Thus they gradually improved the arts of agriculture, and brought them to a high degree of perfection. Where the labour of free men was brought in comparison with that of slaves, its superiority was too striking not to engage the attention of their barbarous masters. The farmer, descended in general from the ancient Roman proprietors, lived with his family on half the produce of the land he cultivated; while the slaves, whom they were under the necessity of supporting, through their indolence and negligence, diminished the productive powers, and consumed twice as much as they produced: the barbarians, therefore, made the experiment of granting them their liberty and a portion of waste land to cultivate for themselves. The lords of the soil were daily more and more convinced that this was the most economical method of supporting their labourers, and of securing to themselves a due proportion of advantage; giving them an interest in their labours inspired them with zeal, activity, and industry, which compulsion never could have produced, and, in consequence, vast numbers of slaves were liberated. The laws did not interfere in the abolition of slavery; the shameful commerce in the human species was not prohibited, yet slavery gradually disappeared. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, slaves were seen in the houses, but none

in the fields. Soldiers abusing their victories, sometimes sold all the inhabitants of a village taken by storm; and the popes, in their boundless resentments, often condemned all their subjects in a hostile state to be reduced to slavery, authorizing all who could seize to sell them; but those who bought these captives, soon found that it was more to their interest to grant them their liberty for money, and employ them as hired servants, than to afford them subsistence for the grudging labour of slavery: thus all traces of slavery in Italy gradually disappeared, excepting those which fanaticism perpetuated in spite of all personal interest. Captives taken from the Moors and Turks were, in hatred of their religion, enchained in galleys, although they cost the state much more than the maintenance of so many free men. Fanaticism has made many attempts to revive slavery; and to the Portuguese missionaries, of the fifteenth century, may be ascribed the origin of those infamous expeditions to the west of Africa for enslaving negroes, which have been the disgrace of Europe almost to the present day. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many thousands of Jews and Moors were condemned to slavery; but personal interest, more powerful than the zeal of persecuting clergy, constantly set free those whom the church enslaved. In our days, slavery, in any form, is continued in eastern Europe, from Russia to Hungary, only because the proprietors of land have not considered the superior profit arising from the labour of free men. Instead, therefore, of dividing with their servants the produce of the earth, by which means the interest of each party would be promoted, the slaves are compelled to labour for their masters half their time: in

[illegible]

man is permitted to exercise on his wife, son, pupil, or younger brother. Every facility is afforded for the redemption of slaves. If a Gentoo, during a famine, has his life preserved in consideration of becoming the slave of his benefactor, he is entitled to redeem himself on payment to his master of the value of the food received in time of necessity, with the addition of two head of cattle; or he who parts with his liberty for the payment of a debt, is entitled to freedom when that debt is discharged. Where such mild and humane laws restrict the condition of slavery, its worst horrors are unknown, and it may be hoped that its very form will speedily cease to exist.

SECT. X.—NEGRO SLAVERY.

Geography and History of Africa and the West Indies.

AFRICA is a quarter of the Globe which is considerably larger than Europe, but not so large as Asia or America. Its utmost length is about four thousand nine hundred and eighty miles; and its greatest width about four thousand seven hundred and ninety miles. Its shape is irregular: its greatest width about the middle; the upper or northern part forming half of an irregular circle, and the lower or southern part gradually tapering to a point, called the Cape of Good Hope. In a map or chart of the world, it will be found just below or to the south of Europe. Except one small neck of land, called the Isthmus of Suez, by which it is joined to Asia, Africa is entirely surrounded by water: the Mediterranean Sea flows between it and

Europe on the north; the vast Atlantic between it and America on the West. Its southern point, called the Cape of Good Hope, reaches the Indian Ocean, which is also its eastern boundary on the lower or southern half. The upper or northern half of Africa, is divided, on its eastern coast, from Asia, by the Red Sea and Straits of Babelmandel, which meet the Arabian Sea or Indian Ocean.

The principal part of Africa lies in the torrid zone, and is excessively hot; and the inhabitants are totally unacquainted with hail, rain, and snow. Those parts, however, that lie near the coast, or in valleys, and on the banks of the rivers, are very fertile and productive, and the country in general is capable of great improvement by cultivation.

Its great rivers are the Nile and the Niger, both of which annually overflow their banks and fertilize the surrounding country. The Gambia and Senegal rivers are branches of the Niger, and fall into the Atlantic. The Nile flows from Abyssinia through Egypt, and discharges itself into the Mediterranean Sea. The Niger runs through a tract of land, not less than three thousand miles, and is navigable into the very heart of Africa.

There are several vast ridges of mountains, which, however, are but little known to European travellers. Those called Atlas, are supposed almost to divide the continent from east to west. The Mountains of the Moon, so called on account of their great height, are situated in Abyssinia. The Mountains of Sierra Leone, so called from their abounding with lions, divide Negroland from Guinea, and extend to Ethiopia. The Mountains of God, in the centre, are so called from their being subject to perpetual thunder and

lightning. The Peak of Teneriffe is a mountain two miles high, situated on an island on the north-western coast; it can be seen at the distance of one hundred and twenty miles.

An immense desert extends from east to west, nearly through the whole of Africa, to the very borders of Egypt, in a breadth of eight or nine hundred miles. This separates the northern states from the interior. Ethiopia, which extends from the Mediterranean Sea, all along the Red Sea, comprehends Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia; the states to the north of the desert are Barbary and Egypt. To the south of the desert is a vast tract of country, called Negroland, which is about the centre of Africa. Rather to the south of Negroland is Guinea, the celebrated market for gold, which gives name to the English coin. The southern point of all Africa is the country of the Hottentots, of whom modern travellers, and especially missionaries, have given us very interesting accounts; but we shall chiefly confine our attention to those parts connected with negro slavery.

Africa produces the richest and most luxurious fruits, in great abundance; as also many of the most costly and splendid articles of luxury, such as spices, gold, pearls, ivory, ostrich plumes, &c.

Its situation for commerce is highly advantageous, being placed in the centre of the other three quarters of the globe, and having a nearer communication with all the three than either of them has with another.

The natives of Africa are distinguished by their complexion. Along the coasts of the Mediterranean, and in Egypt, the inhabitants are of a tawney complexion; but in most parts, and especially in Negro-

land, the people are quite black. This peculiarity gives name to their river, the country, the inhabitants: Negro—Niger—Nigritia—all being variations of a word which signifies *black*.

Africa was principally peopled by Ham and his descendants. The origin of several nations may be traced back to the names mentioned in Genesis x. and many of them were famous in sacred history: Egypt, as the asylum, and afterwards the house of bondage, to the Israelites, the birth-place of Moses, and the ancient seat of literature and science, wealth and grandeur. The dark complexion of the natives of Africa is alluded to as an emblem of the blackness of human nature by sin, and its incurableness by human means—"Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? then may they that are accustomed to do evil, learn to do well."—Jer. xiii. 23. Africa is the subject of express prediction, as to its being early visited by the light of the gospel —"Princes also shall come out of Egypt: Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God."—Ps. lxviii. 31; lxxxvii. 4.

King Solomon carried on an extensive traffic with Africa, and imported many of its costly productions; though, from the imperfect knowledge of geography and navigation then acquired, it is not easy to ascertain whether his navies were equipped chiefly for Arabia, Persia, and other parts of Asia, or for Africa; the same uncertainty attends the country of the queen of Sheba, who came from the uttermost parts of the earth to visit Solomon, and hear his wisdom, the fame of which had reached her country: it is probable that she came from some part of Ethiopia, 1 Kings x.; 2 Chron. ix. In later days the gospel was certainly carried to Ethiopia

by the great officer of state of Candace, queen of Ethiopia, who, being a proselyte to the Jewish religion, came to Jerusalem to worship, and on his way home was met by the evangelist Philip, who instructed him in the gospel, and baptized him, Acts viii. After this, many flourishing churches were formed in different parts of Africa, chiefly along the coast of the Mediterranean, and there christianity long flourished. Many eminent worthies of the christian church were natives of Africa:—Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, and others, whose names are celebrated in the page of ecclesiastical history. Africa was long distinguished for learning, civilization, riches, enterprize, and power. Carthage, which for centuries vied with Rome as mistress of the world, was a state of Africa.

Africa has now gone back in civilization and intelligence. Ever since its conquest by the Saracens, in the seventh century, Mahometanism and idolatry have overspread almost the whole continent, and general darkness has increased with each succeeding generation, as is uniformly the case where a false religion prevails. In the interior and southern parts of Africa, the natives chiefly live in a savage state, ignorant of the arts of life, and only cultivating the soil just as far as may be necessary for the supply of their simple wants. They are exceedingly expert in hunting and swimming. The poorer classes go nearly or quite naked, but the richer negroes wear thin vests and white caps. We know, alas! but little of the native character of Africans, detached from the vices engendered by slavery; but it appears to be simple, inoffensive, unsuspicious, and hospitable, often marked by a considerable degree of shrewdness and ingenuity,

but sometimes, also, characterized by indolence or love of ease.

There are several European settlements along the western coast of Africa, extending from the river Senegal, to the kingdom of Angola, in Guinea. To these, European traders resort for the purchase of ivory, gold dust, and SLAVES, for which they barter woollen, linen, hardware, and other goods of European manufacture, and spirituous liquors: but before we enter on the particulars of this traffic, it will be necessary to give the young reader some account of the West Indies, to which the importations of human cargoes have been chiefly made. We turn now to the West Indies.

The vast continent of America, and all its islands, were altogether unknown to the ancients, insomuch that, when discovered, they acquired the name of the New World. Towards the close of the fifteenth century, Christopher Columbus, an enterprising navigator, sailed from Spain, on a most adventurous voyage of discovery. He sailed westward, on the Atlantic Ocean, expecting to reach the eastern coasts of Asia, which then went by the general name of India, little imagining that a vast continent intervened. His first discovery was of one of the islands now called the Bahamas, on which he landed, October 12, 1492, and taking possession of it in the names of Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, he gave to it the name of St. Salvador. Concluding that he had arrived near the Asiatic or Indian shore, he imagined that this was one of the Indian islands. Hence, when the new continent was afterwards discovered, the islands which in succession had been discovered by Columbus and others, received the

general designation of the West Indies, and the Old Asiatic continent, that of the East Indies, though they are altogether unconnected with each other.

The general term, West Indies, now includes all those islands in the Atlantic Ocean and Caribbean Sea, which extend like an immense chain, in a south-easterly direction, from Bahama to Trinidad, near the coast of South America; also, Honduras, Berbice, and Demerara, on the continent of South America. Of the above-mentioned islands, Cuba, the largest, belongs to Spain; the next in size is St. Domingo, called Hispaniola by the Spaniards, and Hayti by the natives. This, at one time, belonged to France, but, after a severe struggle, the people secured their freedom, and it is now an independent and flourishing state. Jamaica is the next largest: this belongs to England. The smaller islands have been possessed as colonies by the Spaniards, the English, the French, the Dutch, and the Danes; but the greater part of them now belong to the British crown, partly by colonization, and partly by conquest. These islands are very beautiful and fertile. Besides the ordinary productions for home consumption, they produce and export vast quantities of sugar and rum, also, cotton, coffee, mahogany, and woods for dyeing, spices, indigo, arrow-root, &c.: all of them have been hitherto cultivated by slaves. As we know most about those colonies which are under our own government, to those we shall chiefly direct our attention.

The following is a list of our West India islands: Bahama, Jamaica, Tortola, Bermuda, St. Christopher's, Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, Dominica, Bar-

badoes, St. Lucia, St. Vincent's, Grenada, Tobago, Trinidad. Besides these, there are the three colonies on the continent of South America,—Honduras, Berbice, and Demerara; the Cape of Good Hope, in Africa; and the Mauritius, an island in the Indian Ocean, which make up twenty colonies belonging to the British government, where the bulk of the population were, till lately, in a state of bondage.

Six of these colonies, viz., Berbice, Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Mauritius, St. Lucia, Trinidad, are called crown colonies, because they receive their laws directly from the king of Great Britain; he, with the advice of his privy council, decides what is to be done in and by those colonies, and communicates it by governors on the spot appointed by him.

The others are called chartered colonies, because they have a legislature of their own, somewhat like our House of Commons. This assembly has the power of making laws, which must, however, be approved by the governor, who is sent out by the government here, and they must also be sent to England to receive the assent of the king. Honduras is different from all the rest, and has a kind of dependency on Jamaica.

A very large proportion of the inhabitants of these colonies have the black complexion, the flat nose, and curly hair, which characterize the African negro; then there are a number who bear the fair complexion of Europeans, and some of several intermediate shades of colour.

Now it is very natural, on receiving these statements, and observing on a map the distance at which these colonies lie both from Africa and

Europe, that the young reader may be disposed to ask, "Of the various complexions described, which characterizes the original inhabitants of the island, or state? And, if the black people are Africans, and the white people Europeans, how, and by what right, are they found so far from home?"

With feelings of the deepest shame and regret we must answer that *none* of these people were the original inhabitants and proprietors of the soil. They, alas! were long ago exterminated by men who called themselves christians. When first Europeans visited these islands, the simple inhabitants imagined them to have descended from heaven, and approached them with a mixture of veneration and confidence, freely tendering to them the produce of their country, and receiving, with astonishment and gratitude, trifling specimens of European manufacture, which they deemed of inestimable value. But their generous confidence was basely requited. Not content fairly to barter with the simple natives, European commodities for the rich produce of their lands, the avaricious and cruel intruders resolved to possess themselves of the whole. The inhabitants, in some parts, were cruelly and treacherously massacred, and in others compelled to labour in the mines, and endure the most cruel hardships, until the land was soon depopulated, and left in the possession of the invaders.

The early history of Hispaniola, or St. Domingo, affords an appalling instance. It was discovered by the Spaniards in 1492, and is famous for being their earliest settlement. It was, at first, held in high estimation on account of the gold it supplied. This wealth diminished with the inhabitants of the country, whom they obliged to dig it out of the

bowels of the earth, and it was entirely dried up when they were exterminated, which was quickly done, by a series of the most shocking barbarities that ever disgraced the history of any nation. One historian relates that, of 2,000,000 of inhabitants contained in the island when discovered by Columbus, in 1492, scarcely 153 were alive in 1545. Another Spanish writer describes the extermination of the natives by his countrymen as still greater and more rapid; he states the original number at 3,000,000, and says they were reduced to 60,000 within fifteen years.

These barbarities are not to be charged upon one nation or another, for where is the nation of Europe whose hands have been altogether free from the stain of oppressive gain and innocent blood? but Spain and Portugal took the lead, and maintained the bad pre-eminence in those deeds which disgraced human nature, and still more the christian name.

Thus then, it was by might, not by right, that Europeans became possessors of those distant lands. The white inhabitants are Europeans, or the descendants of Europeans, who, for the love of enterprize, or in pursuit of gain, left their native shores in the different states and kingdoms of the Old World. The blacks, also, are a race of foreigners, natives of Africa, or the children of African negroes, who came thither, not from motives either of enterprize or gain, but forced from their native land, bound as prisoners, and sold as so many head of cattle to the highest bidder, and compelled to cultivate the lands depopulated by European cruelty, and to minister to European luxury, pride, and avarice.

The people of colour are descended from Europeans and negroes, and some of them have received their freedom in consideration of their white parentage on one side, but a far greater proportion have inherited the bitter bondage of the negro parent. The white population of the several British slave states is estimated at 108,150. The free people of colour, 143,700; the slave population at 812,700. All authority and influence are lodged in the hands of the white population, who compose but little more than a tenth part of the whole:* but we recal the sentence; long habit has taught us to speak of our slave colonies, and slave population, and to say of our negro brethren, they *are* in a state of bondage, and the pen inadvertently glides into its accustomed strains; but the first of August, 1834, is past, and, blessed be God, Britain has now no slave colonies, no slave population, no house of bondage for the negro—

"The chain is broken! Africa is free!"

Origin and History of Negro Slavery.

It seems a most mysterious thing, that 800,000 human beings should be claimed as the property, and treated as the property of about 100,000 of their fellow-creatures. How could this property be acquired? "In the same way (it has been replied in many instances) as an English farmer, or country squire, becomes possessed of his cattle, his horses, and

* It is hoped that the young reader will keep in mind the statements of this chapter, and, if possible, familiarize his mind with the places referred to, by means of a map. The several particulars here stated will be frequently referred to in the remaining part of this work.

dogs. He may have obtained them by inheritance from his father, or as a gift or a legacy from a friend; he may have purchased them together, as the live stock of an estate; or he may have selected them individually, as a handsome well formed animal happened to strike his fancy, or was recommended to him for its good qualities; or they may be the breeding produce of his stock. We can understand how a property in animals may be thus acquired; but can human flesh and spirits be held by such a tenure, be thus possessed, thus brought as an article of traffic to the market, and thus transferred from proprietor to purchaser, from one generation to another? Yes: these have been transactions of daily occurrence for nearly four centuries, in fact, ever since the West Indies were possessed by Europeans.

The prevalence of slavery, in one form or other, has been already traced to the remotest times, as also the benign influence of christianity, in disseminating juster views of the rights of man, and inspiring a benevolent tone of feeling, by which that kind of slavery which had for ages prevailed in Europe, had at length given way, and in most states become extinct. But in the fifteenth century it was revived, in an aggravated form, in the colonies of the New World.

In the year 1440, while the Portuguese were exploring the coast of Africa, a captain, named Anthony Gonsalez, seized some Moors near Cape Bajador on the western coast of Africa, a little to the south of Barbary, and just at the entrance of the great desert. Two years afterwards, their celebrated prince, Henry, commanded Gonsalez to carry his prisoners back to Africa. He did so,

and landing them at Rio del Oro, a little farther south, received from the Moors, in exchange, a quantity of gold dust and ten negroes, with which cargo he returned to Lisbon. These negroes had perhaps been taken captives in war by the Moors, who, according to the usages of barbarous nations, felt themselves at liberty to dispose of their captives at the best market, or in exchange for their own countrymen. But the speculation proving profitable to Gonsalez, others of the same nation soon embarked in it, and the Moors found many customers for their captives.

Towards the close of the same century, the Spaniards discovered and took possession of the West India Islands, and having, in their inordinate thirst for gold, compelled the wretched natives to labour in the mines of Hispaniola, till their race was nearly exterminated, and the sources of their wealth in consequence closed, a vehement desire of pursuing their lucrative though barbarous projects, inspired the thought of procuring slaves from Africa. Accordingly, about the year 1503, a few slaves were sent by the Portuguese to the Spanish colonies. In 1511, Ferdinand V. of Spain, allowed a larger importation of these unhappy beings. They were, however, found unfit for the labour to which they were destined; and as numbers of gold mines then began to be wrought in Mexico and Peru, on the continent of South America, those of Hispaniola were the less regarded. The labour of the slaves was therefore turned to agricultural pursuits. But for whatever purpose they were procured, the system of procuring slaves having been once admitted, was not likely to be set aside. After the death of Ferdinand, the

reins of government were held by Cardinal Ximenes, until Charles V. came to the throne. During his regency, an earnest application was made by Bartholomew Las Casas, who had gone out as a missionary, to obtain permission to establish a regular trade in African negroes. This strange proposal appears to have originated in a mistaken partiality, for Las Casas was a benevolent and humane man; but he had witnessed with grief and horror the cruelties practised by his countrymen on the remaining natives of the colonies, and hoped to prevent their total extirpation, by the unaccountable measure of substituting Africans in their place. Perhaps he had imbibed the notion which has prevailed even in more enlightened days, that blackness of skin indicated a lower degree in the scale of nature; probably, also, he hoped that laws would soon be established in favour both of the Africans and natives in the Spanish settlements, and as he was to live in the country of slavery, he flattered himself that he should be able to secure the execution of those laws. The cardinal, however, much to his honor, refused the proposal, not only judging it to be unlawful to consign innocent people to slavery at all, but to be very inconsistent to deliver the inhabitants of one country from a state of misery by consigning to it those of another.

After the death of Ximenes, the emperor Charles V., who had come into power, encouraged the slave trade. In 1517, he granted a patent for the exclusive supply of 4000 negroes annually to Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico. This patent was afterwards assigned to some

Genoese Merchants,* and thus the Spanish colonies, were regularly supplied. This great prince lived long enough to repent of what he had thus inconsiderately done. He had not been aware of the dreadful evils connected with this horrible traffic, nor had he duly considered the crying injustice of permitting it; but, on more mature consideration, he made a code of laws for the better protection of the unfortunate natives remaining in his foreign dominions, and stopped the progress of African slavery, by an order that all slaves in his West India possessions should be made free. His order was executed by Pedro de la Gasca. This was in 1542. But in 1555, Charles resigned his throne, and retired into a monastry; Gasca, the minister of his mercy, returned to Spain, and the imperious tyrants of those new dominions returned to their former practices, and fastened the yoke of slavery on the suffering negroes.

These facts show how very careful persons in influence and authority should be, not to give hasty sanction to measures proposed to them by others, and probably dictated by interested motives. For want of carefully scrutinizing a measure before they adopt it, and bringing it to the unbending rule of rectitude, they may unsuspectingly yield themselves to become instruments of the most flagrant injustice and cruelty, and originate evils, the frightful increase of which they little contemplated, and may in vain labour to prevent.

Similar impositions were practised on Louis XIII. of France, to induce him to sanction the

* See page 88.

practice of slavery in his colonies. When about to issue an edict, by which all Africans on coming into his colonies were to be made slaves, he discovered some reluctance and apprehension, until he was assured that it was for the good of the negroes' souls, and for the glory of God, this being the only way of converting them to christianity. Deceived by this hypocritical representation, the monarch gave his consent.

The importation of slaves from Africa was first practised by our own countrymen in the reign of queen Elizabeth. The name which is consigned to everlasting disgrace for introducing it, is that of capt. John Hawkins, afterwards sir John Hawkins. Knowing that the Spaniards and Portuguese had found it a profitable speculation, he obtained the assistance of some wealthy persons in London, in the year 1562, and having fitted out three ships, sailed to the coast of Africa, and then fell on the defenceless negroes sword in hand, burned and plundered their towns, and seizing on 300, sailed with them to Hispaniola, where he sold them, and returned to England with other articles of merchandize, the price of blood. Queen Elizabeth seems to have had strong misgivings of the nature of this traffic, and the evils to which it might lead; for though it was represented by those interested in this traffic, that the Africans were taken away voluntarily, and transported to the Spanish colonies as labourers, and not as slaves, she expressed her concern lest any should be carried off without their own free consent, in which case she declared it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven upon the undertakers. Hawkins having promised to comply with the queen's injunctions in this

respect, was appointed to one of the queen's ships, to proceed on the same route; but he did not keep his word, for when he went to Africa again, he seized many of the inhabitants, some by stratagem, and some by force, and carried them off as slaves, spreading destruction and misery wherever he went.

"Here," says the historian, "began the horrid practice of forcing the Africans into slavery, an injustice and barbarity, which, so sure as there is vengeance in Heaven for the worst of crimes, will sometime be the destruction of all who allow or encourage it." That such a trade should be suffered to continue under a queen who had so solemnly and properly expressed her abhorrence of injustice and cruelty, must be attributed to the pains taken by those interested, to keep her in ignorance of the truth. During the succeeding reigns of James, and Charles I. and II., British settlements were forming on the West India islands; and the shameful traffic in human beings once begun, proceeded and gathered strength from day to day; every where the colonists commenced plantations and stocked them with slaves. Britain did not take the lead in commencing the slave-trade, but having once followed the example of other nations, and embarked in it, she threw into it all her accustomed energy, and soon outstripped all the rest. From 1700 to 1786, the number of slaves imported by Britons into the island of Jamaica alone, was 610,000; the total import into all the British colonies, from 1680 to 1786, was about 2,130,000. In one year, (1771, when this abominable traffic was at its height,) there sailed from England to Africa, 192 ships provided

for the importation of 47,146 negroes. At a later period, (1793,) the whole number annually imported by all the European powers amounted to 74,000, of which 38,000 (or more than half) were imported by the British. These numbers are not overstated, they are given on the testimony of one who had in his possession, authentic lists of the entries, and who was himself averse to the abolition of the slave-trade. Who that reads this statement, "and having human feelings, does not blush and hang his head to think himself a man?" Who that boasts the name of Briton, does not weep to think of the atrocious deeds of oppression and blood that stain the page of British history?

But now a thoughtful and intelligent young reader of the foregoing pages, may be supposed to start several questions:—

1. *How* were all these slaves procured?—were they captives of war, of crime, of debt, or of poverty, each of which has been assigned as a source of slavery?

2. How have they been employed, and how have they been treated, in their state of slavery?

3. Are their children free? and if not, whence arises the necessity of continuing to import fresh slaves every year?

The answers to each of these questions will furnish a distinct section.

1. *How* were the slaves procured?

It appears to have been among the barbarous customs of the African states, to retain for their own use, or to sell as slaves, captives taken in war. The Moors, who occupy the northern part of Africa, were among the most powerful and

formidable nations, and most frequently took captive the natives of neighbouring states. Hence Morocco was early resorted to as a mart for slaves. As the demand increased, and the captives of war did not afford a sufficient supply, condemned criminals were disposed of in like manner. Neither poverty nor debt have been assigned as causes of negro slavery, for exportation, though they sometimes became the causes of vassalage among themselves. How then has a supply for the astonishing demand been kept up? Could war and criminal judgments constantly stock the slave market with its annual tens of thousands? Alas! when the heart of man is so hardened by avarice, as to receive a price for his fellow-man, it is not likely to stumble or scruple at the guilt of any measure which may be deemed requisite for extending his lucrative traffic. Like the tiger, which, brought up on milder food, may appear harmless and gentle, but let him once taste the warm blood of a victim, and his cruel ferocious propensities break out beyond all bounds—nothing can restrain, nothing can satisfy him, but a constant repetition of his horrible repast:—so the heart of man once rendered callous by the sale or the purchase of a human victim, still cries "Give, give:" neither avarice nor cruelty knows a bound. When white men, bearing the christian name, found that a profitable commerce might be carried on by procuring slaves in Africa, and exporting them to the newly-formed colonies of the west, methods were easily devised for procuring a sufficient supply. Agents were stationed at different places along the coast, whose business it was to establish communications with the interior country, and to kidnap the unwary

natives, sometimes enticing them with a few paltry beads, or spirituous liquors, or gunpowder, and then abusing the moment of confidence, or of insensibility, to seize and convey them on board a slave ship; sometimes fomenting quarrels between different villages or states, in order to seize on the captives; sometimes bribing the negroes themselves to betray their neighbours, friends, and kindred; sometimes, without the shadow of a foundation, charging the head of a family with witchcraft, or some other crime, and by false accusation, and mock trials, condemning himself and all belonging to him to slavery; sometimes burning whole villages and towns, in order to surprise the helpless fugitives, while attempting to escape from the flames: these, and many other most inhuman atrocities, were constantly resorted to by those interested in maintaining and extending the accursed traffic. Its advocates, indeed, attempted to deny or palliate these statements, and even to prove that the slave-trade was a system of mercy, to men whom the ferocity or superstition of their countrymen had devoted to a terrible death; but investigation has uniformly confirmed the most horrible statements, and even brought new atrocities to light, on the part of the European slave-dealers. On the testimony of eye-witnesses of the first respectability, and who had conversed with the princes of Africa, we are assured that the wars between the states were entered upon wholly at the instigation of the whites, and for the purpose of procuring slaves. Tempted by the offers of European commodities, and especially by that curse of both hemispheres, spirituous liquors, with which the slave-traders and captains plied the petty sovereigns, they waged war

on each other, or even ravaged their own country, to procure cargoes of slaves in exchange for the trifles they so eagerly desired. The unhappy captives were brought often in a wounded state, and in the deepest affliction, often dying before they reached the shore. Instances might be multiplied, of the most horrible injustice and cruelty, but a specimen or two shall suffice. The king of Barbesin, one of the states, having been intoxicated by the French agent, consented to send out and seize hundreds of his own peaceful subjects, to meet the demands of the wily foreigners. He afterwards expressed a deep sense of his own crime, and bitterly reproached his christian seducers. At Calabar, two large African villages having been sometime at war, made peace with each other, and were about to ratify it by intermarriages, but some English captains perceiving that their trade would be stopped for awhile, contrived to sow new dissensions among the people. They succeeded in setting one village against the other, and themselves took a share in the contest, massacred many of the inhabitants of both villages, and carried away others as slaves. Instances of private treachery, are, if possible, yet more affecting. Incited by the hope of gain, or by the maddening influence of ardent spirits, the natives were induced to seize each other in the night, as they had opportunity; some were invited to the houses of their friends, and there treacherously detained and sold. Even parents, sons, and husbands, acted thus treacherously towards their nearest connexions. Often were the natives kidnapped while in their fields or gardens, and multitudes of little black children of both sexes, while

rambling in the fields or woods, pursuing the amusements of childhood, or perhaps employed in scaring birds from the fields of millet, were waylaid, and seized, perhaps by their nearest neighbours. A black trader kidnapped a girl and sold her; he was presently afterwards himself kidnapped, and sold. When he remonstrated with the captain who bought him—"What! will you buy me who am a great trader?" the reply was, "Yes, I will buy you, or her, or any body else, provided any one will sell you;" and accordingly both the trader and the girl were carried together to the West Indies and sold as slaves.

The following touching anecdote was given in evidence before the House of Commons: "I was on shore with my linguist for the benefit of my health. He conducted me to a spot where some of the countrymen were going to put a sucking child to death. I asked them why they murdered it. They answered, because it was of no value. I told them, in that case, I hoped they would make me a present of it. They answered, that if I had any use for the child, then it *was* worth money. I first offered them some knives, but that would not do; they, however, sold the child to me for a mug of brandy. It proved to be the child of a woman whom the captain of our ship had purchased that very morning. We carried it on board; and judge of the mother's joy when she saw her own child put on board the same ship, *her child* whom she concluded was murdered—she fell on her knees and kissed my feet."—In what a light does this anecdote place this detestable trade!

A son had sold his own father, for whom he obtained a large price, for as the father was rich in

domestic slaves, it was not doubted that he would offer largely for his ransom. The old man accordingly gave twenty-two of his slaves as a ransom for himself; the rest, filled with apprehension of being on some ground or other sold to the slave-ships, fled to the mountains of Sierra Leone, where they dragged out a miserable existence. The son himself was sold shortly after, and, in short, the whole neighbourhood desolated by the slave-trade. In several instances even princes were enticed on board slave ships, under pretext of purchasing commodities or receiving presents, and then carried away and sold. Similar treachery was practised on a prince who undertook to pilot a vessel down the river. On coming opposite his own town he desired to be put on shore, but was pressed to pilot the ship to the river's mouth: the captain then declared it was impossible to put him on shore, so carried him to Jamaica, and there sold him. That the captains and agents of the slave-trade habitually practised such treachery, and that their practices were well understood by the natives, is plain, from the proposals made to other Europeans. The captain of a vessel, (not a slave trader,) when in the river Gambia, accidentally mentioned to a black pilot who was in the boat with him, that he wanted a cabin boy: some youths were on the shore offering vegetables to sell, the pilot beckoned them on board, and intimated to the captain that he might take his choice of them. The captain, with indignation and abhorrence, rejected the proposal; the pilot seemed utterly astonished at his warmth, and observed that the slave captains would not have been so scrupulous. On another occasion, when a British general commanded at Goree, a

number of the natives, men, women, and children, came to pay him a friendly visit—all was unsuspecting confidence, gaiety, and mirth; but three slave captains had the audacity to apply, with a joint request, to the general, for permission to seize the whole unsuspicious multitude, and sell them, alleging the precedent of a former governor. That they should have dared to approach a British officer with such a flagitious proposal, is a proof of the hardiness and boldness they had attained by long practice in iniquity. So thoroughly were the natives of Africa aware of the treachery, cruelty, injustice, and misery, connected with the slave-trade, that, on sight of a slave-vessel, they immediately brought their canoes to shore, and on land would not stir without arms, although they felt no fear of a man-of-war, but would come on board with unsuspecting cheerfulness, or hold intercourse with any white men, if convinced that they were not connected with the slave-trade.

Thus it appears that the slaves were made so chiefly by treachery and injustice. A West India planter, indeed, would say, that he, or those from whom he received them, bought them honestly in the market; and the slave captain who brought them there, that he bought them of merchants, or agents, on the coast of Africa; and they, perhaps, of others in the interior: but not one of these parties would be inclined honestly to meet the question, or to press it on themselves, or on each other, "By what right were these slaves at first deprived of their liberty?"

They have not been made slaves by the ordinary causes, admitted and acknowledged in ancient or modern nations, but were stolen or kidnapped by

robbers and swindlers, who, had they so practised in their own country, on sheep, horses, or other property, would have exposed themselves to imprisonment, transportation, or death. How affecting to learn from travellers of undoubted veracity, that the discerning natives of Africa account it their greatest unhappiness that ever they were visited by Europeans. They say, that we christians introduced the traffic of slaves, and that before our coming they lived in peace; but (say they) it is observable that wherever christianity comes, there come swords and guns, and powder and balls with it. The Europeans, so far from desiring to act as peace-makers, keep the neighbouring states perpetually at war, and buy all the prisoners on either side, and the more there are to sell, the greater their profit. The only object of their wars is to carry off slaves, and sell them to the white traders.

Happy for us to see the day in which this foul blot is wiped off the christian character; but there yet remains much to be done in order to redeem it, and to convince the injured Africans that christianity is a system of peace, love, and benevolence.

2. The second question supposed, was—How have the negroes been employed, and how have they been treated in their state of slavery?

In answering this question, it will be necessary to begin at the moment when they were seized by the cruel slave dealer, snatched from all the tender ties of domestic life, and dragged away from all the simple possessions and pleasures of home. It will be readily supposed that the utmost powers of resistance were exerted before they yielded to their cruel oppressors,—that the utmost ingenuity and activity

were employed to effect an escape,—and that sullen gloomy despondency often succeeded the last unsuccessful attempt, and drove the wretched captive to deeds of desperation, or preyed silently on his vitals, and hurried him to the grave. All this the slave dealer knew, and it was a part of the horrible science of his profession to provide both against the waste of human life incurred, by calculating that, out of a certain number of negroes captured, only such a proportion was expected to reach their destination, and perform actual service, and, therefore, allowing a surplus number for waste; and also against the attempts of the negroes to escape from their cruel tormentors. To prevent this, the slatees, or persons charged with them, kept them constantly in irons, and watched them night and day. They commonly put the right leg of one slave, and the left leg of another, into the same pair of fetters, which they were obliged to bear up with a string, while they walked in great pain and inconvenience. Besides this, four slaves were fastened together by the neck with a strong rope of twisted thongs, and in the night an additional pair of fetters was put on their hands, and sometimes a light iron chain passed round their necks. Thus burdened, and thus degraded, they were compelled to take a tedious march over burning sands, through inhospitable deserts, and under the rays of the scorching sun. The length of these marches varied according to the distance of the scene of robbery from the coast where they were to embark. Ignorant of the relative situations and distances of the places through which they had travelled, the negroes described their journey as of "two, three, or four moons;" and as the northern and eastern parts of Negroland

robbers and swindlers, who, had they so practised in their own country, on sheep, horses, or other property, would have exposed themselves to imprisonment, transportation, or death. How affecting to learn from travellers of undoubted veracity, that the discerning natives of Africa account it their greatest unhappiness that ever they were visited by Europeans. They say, that we christians introduced the traffic of slaves, and that before our coming they lived in peace; but (say they) it is observable that wherever christianity comes, there come swords and guns, and powder and balls with it. The Europeans, so far from desiring to act as peace-makers, keep the neighbouring states perpetually at war, and buy all the prisoners on either side, and the more there are to sell, the greater their profit. The only object of their wars is to carry off slaves, and sell them to the white traders.

Happy for us to see the day in which this foul blot is wiped off the christian character; but there yet remains much to be done in order to redeem it, and to convince the injured Africans that christianity is a system of peace, love, and benevolence.

2. The second question supposed, was—How have the negroes been employed, and how have they been treated in their state of slavery?

In answering this question, it will be necessary to begin at the moment when they were seized by the cruel slave dealer, snatched from all the tender ties of domestic life, and dragged away from all the simple possessions and pleasures of home. It will be readily supposed that the utmost powers of resistance were exerted before they yielded to their cruel oppressors,—that the utmost ingenuity and activity

were employed to effect an escape,—and that sullen gloomy despondency often succeeded the last unsuccessful attempt, and drove the wretched captive to deeds of desperation, or preyed silently on his vitals, and hurried him to the grave. All this the slave dealer knew, and it was a part of the horrible science of his profession to provide both against the waste of human life incurred, by calculating that, out of a certain number of negroes captured, only such a proportion was expected to reach their destination, and perform actual service, and, therefore, allowing a surplus number for waste; and also against the attempts of the negroes to escape from their cruel tormentors. To prevent this, the slatees, or persons charged with them, kept them constantly in irons, and watched them night and day. They commonly put the right leg of one slave, and the left leg of another, into the same pair of fetters, which they were obliged to bear up with a string, while they walked in great pain and inconvenience. Besides this, four slaves were fastened together by the neck with a strong rope of twisted thongs, and in the night an additional pair of fetters was put on their hands, and sometimes a light iron chain passed round their necks. Thus burdened, and thus degraded, they were compelled to take a tedious march over burning sands, through inhospitable deserts, and under the rays of the scorching sun. The length of these marches varied according to the distance of the scene of robbery from the coast where they were to embark. Ignorant of the relative situations and distances of the places through which they had travelled, the negroes described their journey as of "two, three, or four moons;" and as the northern and eastern parts of Negroland

robbers and swindlers, who, had they so practised in their own country, on sheep, horses, or other property, would have exposed themselves to imprisonment, transportation, or death. How affecting to learn from travellers of undoubted veracity, that the discerning natives of Africa account it their greatest unhappiness that ever they were visited by Europeans. They say, that we christians introduced the traffic of slaves, and that before our coming they lived in peace; but (say they) it is observable that wherever christianity comes, there come swords and guns, and powder and balls with it. The Europeans, so far from desiring to act as peace-makers, keep the neighbouring states perpetually at war, and buy all the prisoners on either side, and the more there are to sell, the greater their profit. The only object of their wars is to carry off slaves, and sell them to the white traders.

Happy for us to see the day in which this foul blot is wiped off the christian character; but there yet remains much to be done in order to redeem it, and to convince the injured Africans that christianity is a system of peace, love, and benevolence.

2. The second question supposed, was—How have the negroes been employed, and how have they been treated in their state of slavery?

In answering this question, it will be necessary to begin at the moment when they were seized by the cruel slave dealer, snatched from all the tender ties of domestic life, and dragged away from all the simple possessions and pleasures of home. It will be readily supposed that the utmost powers of resistance were exerted before they yielded to their cruel oppressors,—that the utmost ingenuity and activity

were employed to effect an escape,—and that sullen gloomy despondency often succeeded the last unsuccessful attempt, and drove the wretched captive to deeds of desperation, or preyed silently on his vitals, and hurried him to the grave. All this the slave dealer knew, and it was a part of the horrible science of his profession to provide both against the waste of human life incurred, by calculating that, out of a certain number of negroes captured, only such a proportion was expected to reach their destination, and perform actual service, and, therefore, allowing a surplus number for waste; and also against the attempts of the negroes to escape from their cruel tormentors. To prevent this, the slatees, or persons charged with them, kept them constantly in irons, and watched them night and day. They commonly put the right leg of one slave, and the left leg of another, into the same pair of fetters, which they were obliged to bear up with a string, while they walked in great pain and inconvenience. Besides this, four slaves were fastened together by the neck with a strong rope of twisted thongs, and in the night an additional pair of fetters was put on their hands, and sometimes a light iron chain passed round their necks. Thus burdened, and thus degraded, they were compelled to take a tedious march over burning sands, through inhospitable deserts, and under the rays of the scorching sun. The length of these marches varied according to the distance of the scene of robbery from the coast where they were to embark. Ignorant of the relative situations and distances of the places through which they had travelled, the negroes described their journey as of "two, three, or four moons;" and as the northern and eastern parts of Negroland

robbers and swindlers, who, had they so practised in their own country, on sheep, horses, or other property, would have exposed themselves to imprisonment, transportation, or death. How affecting to learn from travellers of undoubted veracity, that the discerning natives of Africa account it their greatest unhappiness that ever they were visited by Europeans. They say, that we christians introduced the traffic of slaves, and that before our coming they lived in peace; but (say they) it is observable that wherever christianity comes, there come swords and guns, and powder and balls with it. The Europeans, so far from desiring to act as peace-makers, keep the neighbouring states perpetually at war, and buy all the prisoners on either side, and the more there are to sell, the greater their profit. The only object of their wars is to carry off slaves, and sell them to the white traders.

Happy for us to see the day in which this foul blot is wiped off the christian character; but there yet remains much to be done in order to redeem it, and to convince the injured Africans that christianity is a system of peace, love, and benevolence.

2. The second question supposed, was—How have the negroes been employed, and how have they been treated in their state of slavery?

In answering this question, it will be necessary to begin at the moment when they were seized by the cruel slave dealer, snatched from all the tender ties of domestic life, and dragged away from all the simple possessions and pleasures of home. It will be readily supposed that the utmost powers of resistance were exerted before they yielded to their cruel oppressors,—that the utmost ingenuity and activity

were employed to effect an escape,—and that sullen gloomy despondency often succeeded the last unsuccessful attempt, and drove the wretched captive to deeds of desperation, or preyed silently on his vitals, and hurried him to the grave. All this the slave dealer knew, and it was a part of the horrible science of his profession to provide both against the waste of human life incurred, by calculating that, out of a certain number of negroes captured, only such a proportion was expected to reach their destination, and perform actual service, and, therefore, allowing a surplus number for waste; and also against the attempts of the negroes to escape from their cruel tormentors. To prevent this, the slatees, or persons charged with them, kept them constantly in irons, and watched them night and day. They commonly put the right leg of one slave, and the left leg of another, into the same pair of fetters, which they were obliged to bear up with a string, while they walked in great pain and inconvenience. Besides this, four slaves were fastened together by the neck with a strong rope of twisted thongs, and in the night an additional pair of fetters was put on their hands, and sometimes a light iron chain passed round their necks. Thus burdened, and thus degraded, they were compelled to take a tedious march over burning sands, through inhospitable deserts, and under the rays of the scorching sun. The length of these marches varied according to the distance of the scene of robbery from the coast where they were to embark. Ignorant of the relative situations and distances of the places through which they had travelled, the negroes described their journey as of "two, three, or four moons;" and as the northern and eastern parts of Negroland

robbers and swindlers, who, had they so practised in their own country, on sheep, horses, or other property, would have exposed themselves to imprisonment, transportation, or death. How affecting to learn from travellers of undoubted veracity, that the discerning natives of Africa account it their greatest unhappiness that ever they were visited by Europeans. They say, that we christians introduced the traffic of slaves, and that before our coming they lived in peace; but (say they) it is observable that wherever christianity comes, there come swords and guns, and powder and balls with it. The Europeans, so far from desiring to act as peace-makers, keep the neighbouring states perpetually at war, and buy all the prisoners on either side, and the more there are to sell, the greater their profit. The only object of their wars is to carry off slaves, and sell them to the white traders.

Happy for us to see the day in which this foul blot is wiped off the christian character; but there yet remains much to be done in order to redeem it, and to convince the injured Africans that christianity is a system of peace, love, and benevolence.

2. The second question supposed, was—How have the negroes been employed, and how have they been treated in their state of slavery?

In answering this question, it will be necessary to begin at the moment when they were seized by the cruel slave dealer, snatched from all the tender ties of domestic life, and dragged away from all the simple possessions and pleasures of home. It will be readily supposed that the utmost powers of resistance were exerted before they yielded to their cruel oppressors,—that the utmost ingenuity and activity

were employed to effect an escape,—and that sullen gloomy despondency often succeeded the last unsuccessful attempt, and drove the wretched captive to deeds of desperation, or preyed silently on his vitals, and hurried him to the grave. All this the slave dealer knew, and it was a part of the horrible science of his profession to provide both against the waste of human life incurred, by calculating that, out of a certain number of negroes captured, only such a proportion was expected to reach their destination, and perform actual service, and, therefore, allowing a surplus number for waste; and also against the attempts of the negroes to escape from their cruel tormentors. To prevent this, the slatees, or persons charged with them, kept them constantly in irons, and watched them night and day. They commonly put the right leg of one slave, and the left leg of another, into the same pair of fetters, which they were obliged to bear up with a string, while they walked in great pain and inconvenience. Besides this, four slaves were fastened together by the neck with a strong rope of twisted thongs, and in the night an additional pair of fetters was put on their hands, and sometimes a light iron chain passed round their necks. Thus burdened, and thus degraded, they were compelled to take a tedious march over burning sands, through inhospitable deserts, and under the rays of the scorching sun. The length of these marches varied according to the distance of the scene of robbery from the coast where they were to embark. Ignorant of the relative situations and distances of the places through which they had travelled, the negroes described their journey as of "two, three, or four moons;" and as the northern and eastern parts of Negroland

robbers and swindlers, who, had they so practised in their own country, on sheep, horses, or other property, would have exposed themselves to imprisonment, transportation, or death. How affecting to learn from travellers of undoubted veracity, that the discerning natives of Africa account it their greatest unhappiness that ever they were visited by Europeans. They say, that we christians introduced the traffic of slaves, and that before our coming they lived in peace; but (say they) it is observable that wherever christianity comes, there come swords and guns, and powder and balls with it. The Europeans, so far from desiring to act as peace-makers, keep the neighbouring states perpetually at war, and buy all the prisoners on either side, and the more there are to sell, the greater their profit. The only object of their wars is to carry off slaves, and sell them to the white traders.

Happy for us to see the day in which this foul blot is wiped off the christian character; but there yet remains much to be done in order to redeem it, and to convince the injured Africans that christianity is a system of peace, love, and benevolence.

2. The second question supposed, was—How have the negroes been employed, and how have they been treated in their state of slavery?

In answering this question, it will be necessary to begin at the moment when they were seized by the cruel slave dealer, snatched from all the tender ties of domestic life, and dragged away from all the simple possessions and pleasures of home. It will be readily supposed that the utmost powers of resistance were exerted before they yielded to their cruel oppressors,—that the utmost ingenuity and activity

were employed to effect an escape,—and that sullen gloomy despondency often succeeded the last unsuccessful attempt, and drove the wretched captive to deeds of desperation, or preyed silently on his vitals, and hurried him to the grave. All this the slave dealer knew, and it was a part of the horrible science of his profession to provide both against the waste of human life incurred, by calculating that, out of a certain number of negroes captured, only such a proportion was expected to reach their destination, and perform actual service, and, therefore, allowing a surplus number for waste; and also against the attempts of the negroes to escape from their cruel tormentors. To prevent this, the slatees, or persons charged with them, kept them constantly in irons, and watched them night and day. They commonly put the right leg of one slave, and the left leg of another, into the same pair of fetters, which they were obliged to bear up with a string, while they walked in great pain and inconvenience. Besides this, four slaves were fastened together by the neck with a strong rope of twisted thongs, and in the night an additional pair of fetters was put on their hands, and sometimes a light iron chain passed round their necks. Thus burdened, and thus degraded, they were compelled to take a tedious march over burning sands, through inhospitable deserts, and under the rays of the scorching sun. The length of these marches varied according to the distance of the scene of robbery from the coast where they were to embark. Ignorant of the relative situations and distances of the places through which they had travelled, the negroes described their journey as of "two, three, or four moons;" and as the northern and eastern parts of Negroland

robbers and swindlers, who, had they so practised in their own country, on sheep, horses, or other property, would have exposed themselves to imprisonment, transportation, or death. How affecting to learn from travellers of undoubted veracity, that the discerning natives of Africa account it their greatest unhappiness that ever they were visited by Europeans. They say, that we christians introduced the traffic of slaves, and that before our coming they lived in peace; but (say they) it is observable that wherever christianity comes, there come swords and guns, and powder and balls with it. The Europeans, so far from desiring to act as peace-makers, keep the neighbouring states perpetually at war, and buy all the prisoners on either side, and the more there are to sell, the greater their profit. The only object of their wars is to carry off slaves, and sell them to the white traders.

Happy for us to see the day in which this foul blot is wiped off the christian character; but there yet remains much to be done in order to redeem it, and to convince the injured Africans that christianity is a system of peace, love, and benevolence.

2. The second question supposed, was—How have the negroes been employed, and how have they been treated in their state of slavery?

In answering this question, it will be necessary to begin at the moment when they were seized by the cruel slave dealer, snatched from all the tender ties of domestic life, and dragged away from all the simple possessions and pleasures of home. It will be readily supposed that the utmost powers of resistance were exerted before they yielded to their cruel oppressors,—that the utmost ingenuity and activity

were employed to effect an escape,—and that sullen gloomy despondency often succeeded the last unsuccessful attempt, and drove the wretched captive to deeds of desperation, or preyed silently on his vitals, and hurried him to the grave. All this the slave dealer knew, and it was a part of the horrible science of his profession to provide both against the waste of human life incurred, by calculating that, out of a certain number of negroes captured, only such a proportion was expected to reach their destination, and perform actual service, and, therefore, allowing a surplus number for waste; and also against the attempts of the negroes to escape from their cruel tormentors. To prevent this, the slatees, or persons charged with them, kept them constantly in irons, and watched them night and day. They commonly put the right leg of one slave, and the left leg of another, into the same pair of fetters, which they were obliged to bear up with a string, while they walked in great pain and inconvenience. Besides this, four slaves were fastened together by the neck with a strong rope of twisted thongs, and in the night an additional pair of fetters was put on their hands, and sometimes a light iron chain passed round their necks. Thus burdened, and thus degraded, they were compelled to take a tedious march over burning sands, through inhospitable deserts, and under the rays of the scorching sun. The length of these marches varied according to the distance of the scene of robbery from the coast where they were to embark. Ignorant of the relative situations and distances of the places through which they had travelled, the negroes described their journey as of "two, three, or four moons;" and as the northern and eastern parts of Negroland

are nearly, or quite a thousand miles from the slave coast, the journey must be tremendously tedious and toilsome. A journey of five hundred miles was by no means uncommon, and as they generally traced the winding of the rivers, instead of crossing the country, it sometimes amounted to three thousand miles. If overcome with fatigue or weakness, a female, or feeble person, should flag and fail to keep up with the rest, they were severely whipped, and dragged along; and these cruelties were repeatedly practised, until, perhaps, exhausted nature sunk and expired. The wretched victims who survived their toilsome journey, were then fastened hand and foot to a slave ship, a vessel which has been forcibly described as condensing a greater quantity of human suffering and misery than can any where else be found in so small a space. Imagine then, five or six hundred persons linked together, but trying to get rid of each other, and crammed in a close vessel, in which, by mere pressure, they were reduced to a state of suffocation. The space allowed for each rendered it impossible that they should either stand upright or lie otherwise than on one side;* in addition to which they were surrounded with every thing nauseous and disgusting, a scanty allowance of water afforded them, and horse-beans for their food.

* The width allowed for each individual was no more than sixteen inches, and the passage between each of these rows of human packages was so small that it was impossible for a person walking by, however carefully, to avoid treading on them. Thus crammed together, like herrings in a barrel, they contracted putrid and fatal disorders, so that those who came to inspect them in a morning often had to pick dead slaves out of their rows, and to unchain their dead carcases from the bodies of their wretched fellow-sufferers to whom they had been fastened.

If they sobbed, or wept, the lash was the only remedy for their grief; if they refused to eat, they were denominated sulky, and compelled, by instruments of torture, to swallow the food. For exercise, these miserable wretches were compelled to dance, though loaded with chains and oppressed with disease. Labouring under a fixed melancholy at the loss of their relations, friends, and country, many of the poor creatures would attempt to destroy themselves, and some actually accomplished it. Others obstinately refused to take sustenance, and when compelled by cruel methods to receive the food, they would look up in the face of their tyrants, and say, with a smile of defiance, "Presently we shall be no more."

On some occasions the slaves rose in a mass to liberate themselves, force was opposed to force, some of the slaves were killed in the scuffle, others jumped overboard, and were drowned: while actually drowning, some were seen to wave their hands in triumph, exulting that they had escaped, thus preferring death to the misery of their situation; while others, repenting their rashness, clung to the ship, and bewailed their home, seeking in vain for deliverance, while all their captors were engaged in subduing those that remained on board. These were secured with chains, and subjected to new severities and restrictions. The wretched state of mind, incident to the inhabitants of a slave ship, even under the most favourable circumstances, produced a general languor and debility, often increased by an unconquerable aversion to food. These concurring causes soon issued in positive disease. Dysenteries and low fevers generally made their appearance; the contagion spread,

several were carried off daily, and the disorder, promoted by so many circumstances, resisted the power of medicine, for medicine cannot reach the mind, and agitation of mind can counteract the influence of medicine on the body. The mortality attending the middle passage (as it was called) in the most favourable years, and when laws had been passed to regulate the treatment of slaves on their passage, amounted to upwards of one-tenth of the whole cargo; before that, the following yet more awful calculation was made from authentic documents. Exclusive of such as perished before they left Africa, which cannot be computed, on an average of all the ships, not less than twelve and a half per cent., (or one-eighth of the whole cargo,) perished on the voyage; besides these, four and a half per cent. of the remainder died in the harbours of the colony, or before the day of sale, and one-third of the remainder died in the seasoning; so that not more than half the number that sailed from Africa, lived to become effective labourers on our islands. This would be an appalling fact, if the statement applied only to *one instance* of *one hundred persons*, but when we reflect that the horrible traffic lasted through three centuries, and that the annual exportation of slaves at least amounted to 74,000, half of whom might be reckoned to perish within a few weeks or months of leaving their native shores, and the other half to drag out a miserable existence, the thought is truly overwhelming; how often the negro's blood has cried to Heaven, from the earth, or from the sea, and how often the white man's blacker spirit has had to answer at the tribunal of God, the awful appeal, "Where is thy brother?"

It seems hardly desirable to perpetuate individual instances of cruelty, yet, on the other hand, it ought not to appear that the charge rests on bare general assertions. Two or three well authenticated instances, selected out of a vast number, may suffice to give a faint idea of the cruelty of slave dealers and of the misery endured by the wretched slaves, in this period of their suffering career,—the passage from Africa to the West Indies. To induce a slave to eat, a captain, being himself ill in bed, directed his people to present him with a piece of burning coal in one hand and a piece of yam* in the other, compelling him to take his choice. This *humane* experiment succeeded, the poor wretch took the yam and began to eat it, but threw the fire overboard.

A child, about ten months old, on board a slave ship, refused to eat; the captain flogged it, swearing that he would either make it eat, or kill it. From this and other ill-treatment and disease the child's legs swelled. He then ordered them to be soaked in warm water, to abate the swelling; but, even the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel. The cook, on putting his hand into the water, said it was too hot. On this the captain swore at him, and ordered the child's feet to be put in. This was done,—the nails and skin of the feet came off! oiled cloths were then put round the feet, and the poor child tied to a heavy log. Two or three days afterwards, the captain caught it up, and repeated that he would make it eat or kill it. He immediately flogged it again, and in a quarter of

* A sort of root which is much used for food, both in Africa and the West Indies.

an hour it died! But the cruelty of the barbarous captain was not yet satiated. He commanded the wretched mother to throw overboard the body of her murdered infant, and, on her shrinking from the office, he beat her till she complied, she carried it to the other side of the vessel, and dropped it into the sea, turning her head the other way that she might not see it.

To these instances of individual cruelty, may be added most appalling facts of cruelty practised on a large scale. A slave ship had struck on some shoals a few leagues from Jamaica. The crew landed in their boats, with arms and provisions, leaving the slaves on board in their irons. This happened in the night. When morning came, it was discovered that the negroes had broken their shackles, and were busy in making rafts on which they afterwards placed the women and children, the men swimming by their side while they drifted to the island where the crew were. From an apprehension that the negroes would consume the provisions and water which they had landed, the crew resolved to destroy them as they approached the shore. They killed between three and four hundred: out of the whole cargo, only thirty-three were saved, who, on being brought to Kingston, were sold.

An equally horrible transaction was brought to light by an action of the underwriters (or insurers of property hazarded at sea,) for the loss occasioned by the captain of a slave ship throwing overboard a hundred and thirty-two negroes alive. In course of the trial, it appeared that the slaves were very sickly, that sixty had already died, and others were ill and likely to die, when the captain proposed

to the mate and others to throw them into the sea, observing that, if they died a natural death, the loss would fall upon the owners of the ship, but if they perished in the sea, it would fall to the underwriters. He accordingly selected a hundred and thirty-two of the most sickly,—fifty-four were immediately thrown overboard, forty-two the day following, and a day or two afterwards, the remaining thirty-six were brought on deck to complete the number of victims. The first sixteen were thrown into the sea, but the remainder would not suffer the officers to touch them, but leaped after their companions, and shared their fate. The excuse set up by the captain for this atrocious act of wickedness was, that he had missed his port, and feared that his allowance of water might run short. It was, however, proved, that no one had been stinted, when the work of slave destruction began, and that, before it was closed, a plentiful supply of rain had fallen, and yet the murder of the last lot of slaves was not prevented. The barbarous captain was not tried for the cold blooded murder of a hundred and thirty-two of his fellow-creatures, but for the fraud attempted to be practised on the underwriters; and their resistance of the unjust demand, brought to light the horrid transaction, which might otherwise have passed into oblivion, as thousands more no doubt have done, without exciting notice or pity.*

* It ought, perhaps, to be just noticed, that the slave trade was, comparatively speaking, nearly as destructive to British seamen, as to the wretched victims of oppression. Such was the cruelty and oppression they endured from their hardened captains, that they could not be induced

But we must now suppose, in ordinary cases, the wretched cargo to have crossed the vast Atlantic, and been landed on the colonies of the west. A few days after the arrival of a slave ship, a market or fair was held for the sale of the cargo, and how was the intervening time employed? The slaves often arrived in a sickly disordered state, with wounds or eruptions, and the captain now had to act the part of an English horse-jockey, to make up his cattle for the market, by improving their appearance and concealing their defects. For this purpose, astringent washes, mercurial ointments, and repelling drugs were applied, that their wounds and diseases might be hid. These artifices were not only fraudulent, but frequently fatal. "No matter for that," was the sentiment, "they are to be *sold;* no matter whether they work or sicken, live or die."

These preparations completed, they were led to the market like cattle, examined, handled, selected, separated, sold. Relatives separated from relatives, as if, like cattle, they had no rational intellect, no power of feeling the nearness of relationship, nor sense of the duties belonging to the ties of life, as if they were destitute even of the instinct which attaches the brute parent to its

to embark in the service, except by the most artful misrepresentations and bribes, by kidnapping, or by force. From the peculiar hardships and diseases to which they were exposed, the mortality of seamen in the slave service was three times as great as in any other branch of service; and of those who survived the hardships, such was the fatal moral influence of the scenes of cruelty to which they had been inured, that, though in other respects good seamen, they were not fit to be admitted in any other department on account of their savage brutality.

infant offspring. The mother and her children were easily discerned by the extreme agitation and terror they discovered at the idea of being torn from each other. When any one approached the little group, or even looked towards them with the attentive eye of a purchaser, the children, in broken sobs, crouched nearer together, and the tearful mother, in agonizing impulse, fell down before the spectator, bowed herself to the earth, kissed his feet, clung to his knees, clasped her children to her bosom, wrung her hands, and cast up an imploring look, beseeching him, in nature's truest language, in dealing out to her the hard lot of slavery, to spare her the additional pang of being torn from her children. But, alas! little regard was paid to the cry. The purchaser fixed on one or two of her family, because they were strong and healthy, but he required no more; another took one or two that appeared less robust and healthy, because they were "*damaged*" and were offered at a lower price; and the remainder, being left to the close of the first day's sale, were called "the refuse slaves," and purchased by some speculating higgler, who, calculating on the chance of one or more surviving and repaying his adventure, took to a large lot of these wretched rejected beings, giving, perhaps, not more than a dollar for each, intending to carry them out into the country and retail them. These horrible bargains have sometimes been made for poor creatures in the agonies of death, and who have been known to expire before they could be conveyed out of the market. Thus, however, the wretched family have been separated for life, the children being deprived of parental care, perhaps yet unconscious of the wretchedness of their

lot; and the parents having, in addition to their heavy toil and bitter bondage, the daily misery of separation from each other, and from the tender objects of their mutual affection, and the dreadful uncertainty of their fate.

We come now to speak of the labour of the slaves. Some are employed as domestic slaves, to do any kind of work in the house, the laundry, the garden, or the stable, in which the owner may please to employ them. This, supposing the treatment to be tolerably humane, is considered preferable to field work, and is more frequently a promotion, on account of fidelity and activity, than a first appointment. But by far the greater number of the negroes are employed in field labour. Almost all the tillage of the soil, which with us is performed by horses and oxen, assisted by machinery, is in our colonies carried on by the manual labour of the negroes. The principal plantations consist of coffee, cotton, and sugar. It is desirable to give the young reader some idea of the manner in which these productions are cultivated.

The coffee-tree is an evergreen, which very much resembles our bay. There are some slight varieties, but only one species. Indeed, it is pretty certain that all the coffee-trees cultivated in the West Indies and America, are the progeny of one plant, which, in 1714, was presented by the magistrates of Amsterdam, to Louis XIV. of France. Shortly after that, plants were conveyed to Surinam, Cayenne, Martinico, and other European colonies, and the cultivation proceeded pretty rapidly. The coffee of Arabia and Turkey, is still greatly preferred to that of the West Indies.

The coffee-tree grows erect, with a single stem, to the height of five feet, or upwards; they would probably rise to sixteen or eighteen feet, but are generally kept dwarf, for the convenience of gathering the berries. The trees flourish best in new soil, on a gentle slope, where water will not lodge about the roots, but the head requires to be washed with gentle showers. They will not grow except in a warm climate, but in exposed situations it is necessary to moderate the scorching heat of the sun, by rows of umbrageous trees, planted at certain intervals throughout the field. The trees begin bearing when they are two years old, but are not in full bearing till the third or fourth year. In favourable situations, they sometimes attain the age of thirty years; but the land is then so impoverished, as to be unfit for any kind of culture. The planters, therefore, take care to have a fresh plantation in advance, against the time that the former fails. The aspect of a coffee plantation, while flowering, is exceedingly beautiful. The leaves retain their glossy greenness, and, in the course of one night, the white blossoms (resembling jessamine) expand themselves so profusely, as to give the whole field the appearance of being covered with large flakes of snow. This appearance does not last more than a day or two. The fruit which succeeds is a red berry, resembling a cherry, having a pale pulp, not unlike that of the hawthorn, which encloses two oval seeds, somewhat smaller than a horse-bean. When ripe, the berries assume a dark red colour, and if not then gathered, will drop from the trees. In Arabia they do not pluck the berries, but spread cloths round the trees, on which they shake the ripened berries. In the West

Indies, negroes are employed to gather the berries when sufficiently ripe. As both hands are required to gather the berries without injury to the tree, a canvas bag is fastened round the neck of the gatherer. This bag is kept distended by means of an iron hoop or ring. As often as it is filled, the contents are transferred to a large basket, and when the gathering is over, the berries are exposed to the sun, on mats, in layers four or five inches deep. This causes the pulp to ferment, and separate from the seeds, which gradually dry in the course of about three weeks. The husks are afterwards separated from the seeds by a mill, through which they pass several times, that they may be completely freed from chaff.

Some planters employ a somewhat different process, and remove the pulps from the seeds as soon gathered. The labour, probably, is not very different in either case. When thoroughly dry, the seeds are packed for exportation, and are afterwards roasted by the merchants and grocers. This is performed in an iron cylindrical vessel, (something like a candle-box,) so contrived as to be continually turning over the fire, to secure the constant motion of the berries, and to prevent any part being too strongly heated. The quantity of coffee annually consumed in Europe is estimated at 120,000,000 pounds.

The work of the negro, in the coffee plantation, is to hoe the ground and keep it clear from weeds, to make new plantations when required, and to gather, dry, and separate the produce.

"And where is the hardship of all this?" says an English labourer, "I wish they would cultivate coffee in England, and find employment for some

of us who are out of work." Coffee cannot be cultivated in England, because it requires a much warmer temperature than ours. A few plants are preserved in the gardens of the curious, but they require the heat of a stove; and coffee gathering, in Jamaica, would be found rather warmer work than would suit an English constitution, even though the person had been used to our hay-making and harvest work. However, there is no hardship in this part of the story. No doubt, where coffee grows, plenty of people might be found, who would choose to be coffee gatherers, provided they could also choose their employers, and be adequately paid for their labour; but here is the hardship, *the people who do it are* SLAVES.

COTTON.—There are several species of the cotton plant. That most commonly cultivated is the annual herbaceous sort. It is raised from seed, attains the height of eighteen or twenty inches, and is reaped like corn. It bears a large yellow flower, with a purple centre, which produces a pod about the size of a walnut; this, when ripe, bursts, and exposes to view the fleecy cotton in which the seeds are securely embedded. The cotton harvest, in warmer countries, occurs twice in the year; in colder climates only once. This plant will grow in most situations and soils, and is cultivated without any very great trouble or expence. In a favourable season, the cotton is ripe for pulling, about seven or eight months after it has been sown. The appearance of a field of ripe cotton is extremely beautiful, the glossy dark green leaves contrast finely with the delicate silken globules of snowy* white.

* Except of one species, which is of a yellowish brown, from which nankeen is made.

In some parts the produce is gathered by taking off the whole pod and afterwards separating the husk. This mode of gathering is by far the most expeditious at the time, but it occasions great inconvenience afterwards, as the husk breaks, and the small particles adhere to the cotton, and are not easily removed. The method, therefore, more generally adopted, is to gather only the tuft of cotton, which contains the seeds, and leave the empty husks. Whichever method is adopted, this work is always performed in the morning before sun-rise, as soon as possible after the cotton displays itself, because exposure to the sun injures its colour, and it does not bear bleaching like flax.

The separation of the cotton from the seeds is a tedious operation when performed by the hand, but machinery is now pretty generally employed in America and the West Indies, though still unknown in the East Indies. By means of a machine somewhat resembling a turning lathe, and another which acts as a winnowing fan, one man may clean about sixty-five pounds of cotton in a day, though he could scarcely do more than one pound with the hand. By means of a powerful machine, impelled by steam, horses, or other force, eight or nine hundred pounds of cotton are cleansed in a day, with the attendance of very few persons. These machines are employed in America, but hitherto we believe that machinery has been very little employed, to lighten the labours of the negro. The cotton is pressed into bags with screws. The quantity of cotton brought to England for manufacture is astonishing. In 1828, the importations in Great Britain and Ireland, amounted to 227,760,000 lbs., of which, 6,454,000 lbs. came from the British West Indies, and, conse-

quently, were cultivated and prepared by the labour of negro slaves.

SUGAR.—This is by far the principal production of the West Indies, and the chief object of negro labour. The sugar-cane is a native of China. The sweet produce was in use in India and Arabia long before the mode of its production was discovered, as the Chinese are famous for endeavouring to conceal in mystery the origin and mode of obtaining of every article which they possess. The secret was discovered in the thirteenth century, by Marco Polo, a celebrated traveller, and the plant was soon introduced into Arabia, Nubia, Egypt, and Ethiopia, where the cultivation of it soon became extensive. Two centuries later it was brought to Europe, and cultivated in Sicily. Thence it passed into Spain, Madeira, and the Canary Islands, and shortly after the discovery of the New World by Columbus, the plant was conveyed to Hispaniola, or St. Domingo, and gradually spread through all the islands of the West Indies.

The plant is described as a pointed reed or cane, terminating in leaves or blades, resembling those of our strong marshy reeds, but finely serrated (or jagged like a saw) at the edges. The body of the cane is strong, but brittle, and when ripe of a fine straw colour, inclining to yellow. The height of the whole cane, and the length between each of the joints, varies according to the nature of soil and situation. In strong lands, richly manured, it will attain the height of twelve feet, but in ordinary circumstances, from three feet and a half to seven feet, exclusive of the flag part; the joints are at a distance of from one to three inches, and the thickness of the stem from half an inch to an inch. In very rich

lands, each root throws out many suckers or shoots, sometimes nearly a hundred. The reed contains a soft pithy substance, which affords a copious supply of sweet juice, from which sugar is made.

The sugar-cane is propagated by cuttings, which do not require to be renewed annually; but it is usual for the planters to renew one-third of their land each year in succession, which allows to each the growth of three years. In twelve or fifteen months from planting, the canes are ripe for cutting; they are then cut close to the ground, cut up in pieces of a convenient length, tied up in bundles, and carried to the mill: the young shoots grow up for the next harvest.

The method of preparing and planting an estate is thus described:—The quantity of land intended to be planted, being first cleared of weeds and other incumbrances, is divided into several plots of certain dimensions, from fifteen to twenty acres each. The intervals or spaces between each plot are left wide enough for roads, for the convenience of carting. Each plot is then subdivided, by means of a line and wooden pegs, into small squares, of about three feet and a half each. The negroes are then placed in a row, in the first line, one to a square, and directed to dig out with their hoes the several squares, to the depth of five or six inches, throwing up the mould in a regularly sloping bank on the lower side of the square, in the manner of a celery trench; this brings the width of the cane-hole to about two feet and a half at top, and fifteen inches at bottom, the negroes then fall back to the next line, and proceed as before, until the whole surface is prepared. They then place the cuttings into these holes, and cover them up with

mould. As they grow, the earth is drawn round them, and the ground kept clear of weeds. The whole of this labour is performed under the rays of a tropical sun.

The mill consists of strong rollers, through which the canes are passed, and the juice extracted by pressure. It is then very rapidly boiled, and clarified by means of lime. When all the watery particles have evaporated, and the sirup is of such a consistence that, on cooling, it will granulate, (or form into small grains or particles, of which moist sugar is composed,) it is cooled in shallow trays, and then put into the hogsheads, or large casks, in which it is to be conveyed to Europe. These casks have their bottoms pierced with holes, through which any remaining portion of juice that will not crystallize passes off into a cistern. More sugar is added, till the cask is completely filled up, it is then headed and shipped. Rather more than a pound of sugar is obtained from a gallon of cane juice, which is the produce of about eighteen canes. The molasses, or liquor which drains away from the casks, together with all the scummings of the sugar while boiling, are collected together and fermented, and afterwards distilled for the production of rum. All this work is performed by negroes. It is, no doubt, laborious work, and requires exposure to intense heat, and many hours continuance of labour; for when once the process of boiling has commenced, the coppers cannot be left night or day. Well, this is no harder than many of our fellow-countrymen work in foundries, mills, malt-houses, breweries, and on farms during the season of harvest; but then there are several considerations in their favour, which

do not apply to the case of the poor negroes. An Englishman chooses his own business, and it is lucrative in proportion as it is laborious or hazardous. In our manufactures, and other trades which require constant attention, such a relay of labourers is provided, as to secure to all time for needful repose; and if a man finds his health and strength not equal to the labour required of him, he is at full liberty to leave it and choose some other pursuit more congenial to his feelings and capabilities. But the choice of the negro is never consulted, as to his master or his employment; what his owner sets him about he must do, willing or unwilling, and almost able or unable, for alas! there have been hundreds of instances of slaves absolutely sinking and dying under the labour required of them, their complaints and moanings having been utterly disregarded. *Their* labour is never lucrative, for, however much may be exacted of them, or however much they may yield, or however profitable their labour may be to their masters, they have no claim for proportionate remuneration. The master requires and allows just what he pleases. The change of hands, in busy time, is by no means sufficient to allow to any slave a proper period for necessary repose; and, finally, however much the slave may dislike his master or his occupation, he has no opportunity of changing them, because he is a slave.

Such were the hardships endured, in ordinary circumstances, that a negro was not reckoned *seasoned* to his occupation and habits of life under two or three years, during which period many thousands died annually; but, supposing the negro to have survived this period, and even supposing him to have fallen into the hands of a humane

master, his labour must be sadly embittered by the feeling that he is labouring for persons whom he is under no obligation, either natural or divine, to obey; that in case of failure of performing the task required of him, he is liable to corporeal punishment, at the will of his employer; and that, however tolerable his present situation may be, he has no security of retaining it, but may be transferred at any hour, when the circumstances of interest, or caprice of the master, may dictate.

But we must come to certain cruel aggravations of the bondage and labour of the negro. We have often heard the saying, "A bird that can sing, and won't sing, must be made to sing." When applied to the lawful and salutary exercise of authority over an indolent and perverse child, we can admit its correctness; but when literally applied, have we ever inquired by what right the two-legged monster, man, deprived the little feathered songster of his native liberty, and inflicted on him certain cruelties, such as carrying a weight, walking on heated plates, or depriving him of sight, in order to train him to entertain his employer with his melody, or with the exhibition of unnatural feats of ingenuity? It is by such cruelties that the unwilling bird is compelled to sing; and similar cruelties are resorted to, to compel the unwilling negro to work.

We must describe the agents and instruments of coercion. Each gang* of negroes, from twenty

* What an odious word, "never applied but in contempt or abhorrence." We say a gang of thieves—a gang of villains—a gang of gypsy fortune-tellers: but what would it be thought, if, speaking of Englishmen, we should say, a gang of gentlemen—a gang of soldiers—or a gang of ser-

to eighty in number, is provided with a *driver*, who, when the gang is drawn out in a line for work, stands close in the rear. The drivers are always the most active and vigorous negroes on the estate; they are entrusted with authority over the others, and are responsible for their performing a certain quantity of work within a given time.

Each driver is furnished with a *cart-whip*, which he carries in his hand, or coiled round his neck; this is a long, thick, strongly platted whip, the report of which is as loud, and the stroke as severe, as those of the whips in common use among our wagoners. This he is at liberty to apply at any moment, and without any previous warning. It is considered an accomplishment, and a matter of emulation among drivers, to be able either to produce the loudest report from this instrument of torture, or to inflict so tremendous a gash at every stroke, without much sound, as to make even a few strokes a tremendous punishment. So powerful is the sound of the cart-whip that a few repeated strokes are sometimes employed, instead of a bell, to call the negroes to their morning labours. The very mules dread the sound as it echoes from the surrounding hills; and so tremendous is its practical power, that a single stroke has been known to cut through the tough hide of a mule; and, applied to the human subject, every stroke cuts into the muscles or flesh below, and leaves large scars or weals which often remain through life. So uni-

vants? and why should we say a gang of slaves, who are no farther fit subjects of either contempt or abhorrence than as they are, involuntarily, of a different complexion from ours, and are the innocent subjects of oppression and tyranny to which we have never been exposed?

versally is this fact admitted, that when a slave is to be sold, his back is exhibited, and, to be found tolerably free from these vestiges of punishment, is considered a creditable distinction of character, and enhancing the value of the slave to the future* purchaser.

When the business of holeing, (or making trenches for sugar canes, as before described, p. 138,) is to be performed, the *gang* is drawn out in a line, like troops on a parade, with their driver and his whip close at hand.

As the trenches run in a straight line, it is necessary that every hole or section of the trench should be finished in equal time with the rest; and to secure their being also formed of an equal depth, it is necessary that the strokes of the hoe should be thrown in with equal energy and rapidity by the whole line. It is, therefore, the business of the driver, not only to urge forward the whole gang with sufficient speed to perform the work required in the given time, but also closely to watch that all in the line, whether male or female, old or young, strong or feeble, work as nearly as possible in equal time, and with equal effect. The tardy stroke must be quickened, and the languid invigorated, and all must advance with uniformity; no breathing time, no resting on the hoe, no pause of languor to be repaid by brisker exertion on return to work, can be allowed to individuals, all must work, or pause together.

* Observe, the testimonial of character is turned, not to the advantage of the slave, but to that of the selling master. With us, any proof of long, faithful, diligent service, is considered as qualifying the *individual* for a more advantageous situation, and entitling him to a higher remuneration.

When the nature of the work does not admit of the slaves being drawn up in a line abreast, they are disposed in some other order, so as to bring them within easy reach of the driver's inspection, voice, and whip. In carrying the canes from the plantation to the mill, they are marched in files, each with a bundle on his head, and the driver in the rear, to quicken their pace, and urge on by his whip any who may attempt to deviate or loiter in their march.

Such is the work and compulsion of the negro. Now, what are his wages? In some islands, viz., St. Christopher's, Antigua, Nevis, Montserrat, and Tortolu, the slaves have a fixed allowance of provisions settled by law; but so scanty is this allowance, that it is not more than one-third the quantity necessary to the comfortable subsistence of the labourer.

In Berbice, Demerara, and Barbadòes, the slaves are fed upon provisions reared by their own labour, but dealt out to them at the discretion of the masters. According, therefore, to the humanity and liberality of the master, on one hand, or of his niggardliness and caprice on the other, their condition may be better, or worse, than those whose scanty penurious allowance is fixed by legal regulations; and, be it observed, that, in either case, there is not a single hour allotted to the slave by law, except Sunday, on which he can eke out his scanty allowance.

In Jamaica, Grenada, St. Vincent's, Trinidad, Tobago, Dominica, and St. Lucia, the slaves have provision grounds allotted to them, and a few days in each year allowed them, besides Sundays, for cultivating these grounds. Their huts are built by themselves, with rude materials, sometimes

furnished by the masters. The days allotted to the slaves for their own use vary in different parts, from fourteen to thirty-six: the most favourable scarcely exceeding an average of two-thirds of a day weekly, and the least favourable amounting to little more than a day in a month; thus then, the whole labour of five days and a half, weekly, (on the average,) is given for merely the rent of a plot of garden ground. To render that ground productive of the means of subsistence must engage the labour of the remaining half day of labour, and, we grieve to add, of the sabbath of rest; for on the sabbath *is*, (or rather before the blessed abolition, *was*,) held a market, to which the negroes repaired, often from the distance of ten, twenty, or thirty miles, to dispose of their surplus vegetables, and purchase a few trifling articles either of food or apparel. In addition to this, they were generally allowed a few salt herrings, or other fish,* weekly; and, annually, a small quantity of clothing, the cheapest that could be procured. The most industrious and managing slaves contrived to keep a few heads of poultry, and perhaps a pig, which also became articles of traffic, and in a very few instances, by dint of extreme labour and parsimony for a length

* We may form some idea of the quality of this precious boon, from the fact that in the British House of Commons, it was gravely argued as an objection against the abolition of the slave trade, that another important branch of trade depended on it, viz., the Newfoundland fishery, which could not go on "were it not for the vast quantity of inferior fish bought up for the negroes in the West Indies, and which was quite unfit for any other market." A similar objection was raised, that the abolition of the slave-trade would injure the sale of gunpowder, vast quantities of which were sent to Africa to be given in exchange for slaves.

of time, a little property has been acquired, and freedom purchased.

We supposed a third question to be proposed by the reader, viz.:—"Do the children of slaves inherit the slavery of their parents, and, if so, whence could arise the necessity for continuing the importation of slaves from Africa?"

Yes, all the children of the enslaved negro were born slaves, the property of the master, as much as the colt, the puppy, or the kitten, belong to the owner of the parent beast. The negro women generally have a numerous progeny, and are most passionately fond of their children; and were only a few negro families, in a state of liberty and peace, to colonize themselves on an hitherto uninhabited spot, as fertile as the islands of the west, there can be little doubt that they would rapidly increase to a numerous and flourishing population. But slavery has been found the bar to domestic happiness in every form; and it is an affecting fact, that, as long as the slave-trade continued, notwithstanding the vast imports every year, the number of the negro population never increased. We have mentioned the frightful waste of human life in the seizure, on the passage, and in the seasoning; to this must be added the cruel separation of families by subsequent sales, the excessive labour and cruel hardships sustained, the use of spirituous liquors, with which slavery has made them acquainted, the discouragement of marriage among the slaves, and the insufficient time allowed the mothers for attention to their infant offspring: these are sufficient causes for the decrease, rather than the increase of the population. It was a principle avowed and

acted upon by the planters, that it was much cheaper to purchase full grown slaves, than to rear them; and, as self-interest seemed to be the slave-masters' only law, hence would naturally arise a disregard to the feelings, the comforts, and interests of both parents and children. This point was ably argued with a view to the abolition of the slave-trade, about thirty years ago.

"If," said a celebrated statesman, "the slaves decrease in number, ill usage must have been the cause, and the abolition was necessary to restrain it: if they increase, no farther importations were necessary; or if the population was nearly stationary, and the treatment of the slaves neither so good, nor so bad, as it might be, then it was the proper period for putting a stop to farther supplies, for both the population and the treatment would be improved by such a measure." The slave-trade was abolished, and there has been no deficiency of slaves: the slave population is as great, if not greater, than when thousands of negroes were annually imported.

It is refreshing to think that this horrible waste of human life has been put a stop to. Before, however, we come to the more pleasing task of detailing the progress of abolition, there are yet some features in the horrible system of slavery, and some appalling facts in its administration, that must be briefly dwelt upon.

Legal Hardships incident to Negro Slavery.

It is the glory of our native country that there is one law for the rich and the poor, the master and the servant. A British nobleman* has been

* Earl Ferrers, 1760.

hung for the murder of his servant, and the poorest man, if injured by the greatest, may appeal to the laws of his country, and have the same respect paid to his testimony as if he were ever so rich and great. The decision must be according to the evidence produced, not according to the rank of him who brings it. But in slave colonies it is very different; there is one law for the white master, and another for the negro slave. It must be observed, however, that we may search in vain for any positive law which expressly sanctions or defines slavery, though there are many laws which recognize slavery as an existing condition, and treat of slaves as subjects of property. Slavery never could plead any law but that of custom for its existence; and, so far, it is matter of rejoicing that our British statute books are clear of originating the state of slavery, or giving to any man a right to enslave his fellow men. But slave-masters in general were very well satisfied with finding themselves by custom established in possession, and very little concerned to inquire into the legal or moral right by which they held it. But the laws which were made on the supposition of the previous existence of the condition of slavery, almost uniformly lean to the side of the master.

By the colonial laws, the possessor was at liberty to exact the constrained labour of the slave all the days of his life, and that without any mutual compact or settled wages, it resting entirely with the master to decide the nature, and extent, and duration of labour required, and the subsistence to be given in return.

The master was also permitted to punish a slave in any manner and to any extent he pleased,

short of murder and mutilation. Even the actual murder of a slave was placed upon a different footing from the murder of a free person. If legally proved, (which was a very difficult matter,) the white murderer was only subjected to a light penalty. On the conviction of two negroes, of a murder in Barbadoes, they were *burnt alive*. At that very time and place, if the white man whom they murdered, had murdered them, he would have been subject only to a fine of fifteen pounds currency, about eleven pounds sterling. If the master injured his own slave, even to the loss of limb, it does not appear that he was punishable. If he injured the slave of another, he was liable to a *civil* action from the *owner*, for damage on his *property*, not to a *criminal* action for injury inflicted on the *suffering slave;* and in either case, neither the complaint of the sufferer, nor the testimony of a fellow-negro, nor of any number of negroes, could be admitted in evidence: a black man might be admitted, and compelled to bear witness against a fellow black; but only the testimony of a white man could be admitted against a white or in favour of a black.

Even laws designed to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, serve to illustrate its wretchedness. such as this,—not more than thirty-nine lashes shall be inflicted on the same day, or for the same fault, or until the slave shall have recovered the effects of the former punishment. Since there was no restriction as to the nature of the fault for which such severe punishment might be inflicted, it was easy for a cruel vindictive master to find some trivial fault, which, in his opinion, would justify the use of the whip; and a repetition of

flogging on several successive days, would be yet more terrible than to endure it all at once.

A great additional grievance was, that the master had the power of delegating his authority, and inflicting his punishments by agents, and sub-agents, whether bond or free. This was a tremendous aggravation of the negroes' condition. Justice would say, "Let the law define the crime and its punishment, and let the magistrate convict the criminal and inflict the punishment," but if this was too good for negroes, the next best thing would have been, that punishment should have been inflicted only by the master personally. A West Indian master would soon have been tired of following his negroes with a cart-whip, and what is more, he would soon have been convinced that the diligence and fidelity of his labourers, would be better secured by encouragement and reward, than by tyrannical punishment.

Another legal disadvantage under which the slave laboured, was that of having no claim to property; whatever he might acquire, belonged to the master. It is true that the masters did not generally enforce their claim. Little opportunity had the poor slave of acquiring any thing beyond a bare subsistence, and that little he might by courtesy be permitted to enjoy in peace, but it was hard not to enjoy it with legal security. What poor English cottager has not exulted to feel that his house was his castle, and that the greatest lord in the land, did not dare to gather a sprig of parsley from his garden without his consent? The poor negro had no such security. His master, if he pleased, might, at any moment, seize his little all; or it might be seized, as well as his

person and his family, to pay his master's debts and here was the acme of legal oppression. The slave, his wife, and family, might be so sold or transferred, at any time, as to separate them from each other for life. There was no law to hinder the separation of families, and it was an event of no uncommon occurrence, to see families put up to sale together, or in lots, to suit the convenience of purchasers. The parents had no property in their children; the father's interest was entirely disregarded, and the children became the property of the owner of the mother; and finally, while the master's power, both of inflicting punishment on his slaves and alienating their persons, was so despotic and unlimited, the slave had no right of redeeming his liberty, or changing his master. Hence no law could avail to secure the slave against cruel treatment; for even if some independent white man should have witnessed the most barbarous cruelty, and the slave should dare, supported by such testimony, to make his complaint, and obtain the conviction and punishment of his tyrant, he would still be the property of that tyrant, and exposed to all the fatal consequences of his resentment. Indeed, it is well known, that proprietors who have been guilty of murdering many of their miserable slaves, and inflicting other horrible cruelties contrary to the laws, have escaped justice, not for want of sufficient persons being fully aware of their guilt, and fully competent to give evidence, but from a fear of the perilous consequences of incurring their resentment.

SECT. XI.—DEGRADATION CONNECTED WITH NEGRO SLAVERY.

It seems to have run throughout the whole spirit and genius of slavery, to degrade and depress its unhappy subject, and by some invidious distinction or other, constantly to keep alive in his mind, a sense of inferiority, and to display it to others. Most of the field negroes are branded with the name of their owners. The pain of this infliction is not trifling in itself, but that is of short duration, and is nothing compared with the coarse and contemptuous affront thus offered to the sacred human form, by stamping upon it an unsightly and indelible record of a degraded and ignominious condition, and proclaiming the opprobrious assertion, "This man is the absolute property of another, and on a level with the beasts that perish." Nay, it even represents the poor branded slave, as far more despised by his master, than the horse that carries him, or the dog that runs by his side; for he would not disfigure the sleek coat of either of these animals by a similar badge, but reserves it for animals of small account, whom he turns loose on the common or forest. This is so notorious a fact, that nothing is more common than to see advertisements for the apprehension of runaway slaves, describing the marks and brands which they bear. Moreover, it is a colonial regulation, that "If any one shall mark a slave, the property of another, or shall deface his or her mark, he shall suffer death as a felon."

Another degradation is, that of working in chains. Runaways, or strayed negroes, who do

not, or from their want of knowledge of the English language cannot, give an account of themselves, are taken up, and put into the workhouses; not receptacles for the unprovided poor, like those in England, but houses of correction and imprisonment, where the work is reckoned so much harder than even the common lot of the negroes, that they are often sent there by their masters and mistresses by way of punishment. These unhappy wretches are employed to dig and carry stones, and to perform all the most fatiguing offices of the public, and they work in chains, sometimes a hundred linked together. The chain being fastened about the leader, is carried round the bodies of all that follow, each being secured by a padlock. As soon as they are thus yoked, they are turned out with a negro driver, and sometimes a white driver also, who rides on a mule, both furnished with cattle whips. Imagine a number of persons thus linked together, without regard to age, strength, or size, how impossible that an equal pace should be kept up by them through a whole day; but woe to those who first flag from fatigue, the whip soon reproves the crime of wearied nature; again they strive to keep up, but again the weariness returns. The weaker pull upon the stronger, and the strong tread upon the heels of the weak, till at length, nature quite worn out, the wretched gang is driven back to the workhouse.

As an instance of this kind of degradation, it may be stated as a fact, that, before the abolition of the slave-trade, there were shops, in Liverpool, expressly for the purpose of furnishing instruments of confinement and torture for slaves, of which specimens are even now preserved, such as iron

hand-cuffs, shackles for the legs, collars with spikes, and instruments for forcing open the mouth and throwing in food, to such as, through *sulkiness*, (the favorite word among slave dealers for expressing a negro's broken heart,) refuse to take their food. These instruments were principally used on the slave voyages, but not confined to them, as will appear in the next section.

Another degradation is the contempt to which they are exposed, on account of the colour of their skin. "God hath made of one blood, all nations of men to dwell upon the face of the earth," and with the common Parent there is no respect of persons. It has been happily expressed, that "The negro is God's image carved in ebony," but white men have represented the colour of the negro's skin as a badge of inferiority and degradation. This is irrespective of his condition, for if he were a free man, who had nobly obtained his own ransom, and honourably used it, or even if it could be proved that neither he nor his ancestors were ever in a state of slavery, still it would not do away the contempt on account of being a *coloured person*—of possessing a black skin. The most opprobrious epithet which a West Indian master in a passion can utter, is not, You slave, but, *You negro!* No degree of personal merit, or even the acquisition of wealth and importance can do away this reproachful prejudice. Very few white persons, except under the influence of genuine christianity, would sit down at table or in a place of worship with a negro, and there is little doubt that, from the land of slavery, some haughty English nurse imported into the nurseries of England, that foolish and wicked threat, "The

black man shall have you." With much greater reason might "the white man," be represented as an object of terror to the poor little blacks, for white men have indeed inflicted cruel injuries on their unoffending race.

Another degradation which the negro has to endure, is contempt of his country, than which nothing can be more galling to a generous mind.

"Man, through all ages of revolving time,
Unchanging man, in every varying clime,
Deems his own land of every land the pride,
Beloved by Heaven o'er all the world beside;
His home a spot of earth supremely blest,
A dearer, sweeter spot than all the rest.
And is the negro outlaw'd from his birth?
Is he alone a stranger upon earth?
Is there no shed, whose peeping roof appears
So lovely that it fills his eyes with tears?
No land, whose name in exile heard, will dart
Ice through his veins, and lightning through his heart?"

The advocates of slavery have had the unblushing effrontery to declare that their system was based on humanity: that the victims of their oppression were torn by fraud and violence from their homes, and their native country, in order that they might thereby be placed in a happier and more eligible condition. "But who are you," it has been justly asked, "who pretend to judge of another man's happiness; that state which each man, under the guidance of his Maker, forms for himself, and not one for another?" To know what constitutes your happiness or mine, is the sole prerogative of Him who created us, and cast us in so various and different moulds. Did your slaves ever complain to you of unhappiness in their native woods and deserts? or, rather let me ask, did they

ever cease complaining of their condition under you, their lordly masters, where they see, indeed, the accommodations of civilized life, but see them all pass to others, themselves unbenefited by them? Be so gracious then, ye petty tyrants over human freedom, as to let your slaves judge for themselves what it is that makes their own happiness, and then see whether they do not place it in the return to their own country, rather than in the contemplation of your grandeur, of which their misery makes so large a part; a return so passionately longed for, that, despairing of happiness here, that is, of escaping the chains of their cruel task-masters, they console themselves with feigning it to be the gracious reward of Heaven in their future state." "Be it so," was the more concise answer to the shallow pretext of the Africans being made happier by being carried to the West Indies, "Be it so; but we have no right to make people happy against their will." "Let it be admitted that the slave is treated with humanity, and placed in circumstances of comfort, allow even that he is pampered with delicacies, or put to rest on a bed of roses, he could not be happy, for a slave would still be a slave."

Slavery must be a violation of all justice, and whatever benefit might be derived from that trade, to an individual, was derived from dishonour and dishonesty. He forced from the unhappy victim that which he did not choose to give—his liberty; and he gave to him that which he in vain attempted to show was an equivalent to the thing he took, it being a thing for which there was no equivalent, and which, if he had not obtained by force, he would never have possessed at all. Nor can the injustice and injury be disproved, unless it can

first be proved that it had pleased God to give to the inhabitants of Britain a property in the lives and liberty of the natives of Africa.

How must the bosom of a negro swell at the insulting, disparaging comparison, between the land of his savage liberty, and that of his civilized bondage! Happier in Jamaica than in his own native wilds in Africa! Why, then, if under extraordinary circumstances he had obtained the means, did he willingly part with his last shilling to purchase his release from this situation of superior happiness? Why was it universally reckoned the highest reward that a master could bestow upon his slave, for long and faithful services, to give him his freedom? If the liberated slave did not always return to his own country, sufficient reason might be assigned in the probability that those he loved were dead; and the possibility that he might again be kidnapped, and hurried to a slave ship: yet his love of country was beyond a doubt. The negroes were often heard to talk of it in terms of the strongest affection, and acts of suicide were frequent, under the notion that these afforded them the readiest means of getting home. Hence, though funerals in Africa are accompanied with lamentations and cries of sorrow, they were attended in the West Indies with every demonstration of joy.

To complete the climax of degradation and insult, it has been gravely declared that the negro is not man, that he belongs to an inferior race, nearer akin to the ourang-outang than to the human species: or at least, that he is utterly and incorrigibly embruted and immoral, incapable of having his mind enlightened by instruction, or

his conduct regulated by principle. Hence, the means of instruction have been withheld, and all discipline and culture referred to the whip and the handcuff. On this plea of inferiority it is easy to argue, but not to prove, that the black has not equal rights, and is not entitled to the same usage as white men; that, while it would be unlawful to detain white men in slavery, it is right to enslave blacks. "The retreating forehead and depressed vertex, indicate mental inferiority," say these haughty insulters of the negro; but do they prove that he has not an immortal soul, is not an accountable creature, is not capable of every thing, rational and spiritual, essential to a man and a christian, is not as nearly related to "Our Father which is in heaven," as the fairest complexioned and most lofty-browed European? Beside, we have abundant proofs that negroes placed under equal cultivation, discover intelligence, genius, and industry, not at all inferior to those of white men. We have proofs also, that white men subjected to the same process of slavery, soon manifest the same result of mental and moral degradation. It has been justly observed, by an intelligent modern traveller, "Cut off hope for the future, and freedom from the present; superadd a due pressure of bodily suffering and personal degradation, and you have a *slave*, who, of whatever zone, nation, or complexion, will be what the poor African is, torpid, debased, and lowered beneath the standard of humanity." An eye-witness thus describes the effects of slavery among the Arabs on Europeans:—"If they have been any considerable time in slavery, they appear lost to reason and feeling, their spirits broken, and their faculties sunk in a species of

stupor, which I am unable adequately to describe; they appear degraded even below the negro slave. The succession of hardships, without any protecting law to which they can appeal for alleviation or redress, seems to destroy every spring of exertion or hope in their minds; they appear indifferent to every thing around them—abject, servile, brutish." On the other hand, "Loosen the shackles of the slaves, let them feel the invigorating influence of freedom, let hope enter their bosoms, and let the prospect of reward cheer them; let them walk erect like men, and they will soon refute the foul calumny of their great and inevitable inferiority, to those who have a white skin." This experiment will now, happily, be tried; but in the reign of slavery it might justly be said, "a dreadful and debasing consistency runs through the whole of their treatment; they are bought, and sold, and bred, and worked, and flogged, and branded, like brute animals. If any thing is construed into insurrection, they are shot at like wild beasts; if, having escaped, they make the least resistance, they may be cut down; and, if taken alive, are compelled to work in chains, or are placed by night in the stocks, or have a large iron collar fastened on their necks, like beasts which are accustomed to break through an enclosure, or to stray beyond their limits;" and, as far as the thorough going advocate of slavery is concerned, not an effort shall be made to impart to so degraded a thing, one ray of intellectual light, much less one anticipation of immortality; and those who attempted by any moral means to raise the slave in the scale of society, drew upon themselves the hatred and vengeance of his oppressors and maligners. Persecution for religion, or the attempt to impart religious instruction to negroes,

is almost as old as the system of slavery itself, in the West Indies. The mild and humane treatment of slaves by masters who were members of the Society of Friends,* was so different from that of the inhabitants in general, that it excited in the latter alarm and jealousy. It would scarcely do openly, and by law, to restrain the exercise of humanity, but an expedient was resorted to, similar to that of the enemies of Daniel, who could find no occasion against him, except in the matter of the law of his God. In the Island of Barbadoes, in 1676, an act was passed to prevent the people called Quakers, from bringing their negroes into their meetings for worship, though they held them in their own houses.

The pretext was, that the safety of the island might be endangered if the slaves were to imbibe the religious principles of their masters. Under this act, Ralph Fretwell, and Richard Sutton, were fined in the different sums of £800, and £300, because each of them had suffered a meeting in his own house, at one of which eighty negroes were present, and thirty at the other. In 1630, this persecuting spirit was carried still further, and all meetings of the society were prohibited altogether. In the Island of Nevis, Quakers were even prohibited from coming on shore, lest they should bring mercy and peace to the negroes. In Antigua and Bermuda, similar proceedings took place, so that the Quakers were finally expelled from that part of the world. Similar hostility has been manifested against other bodies of christians, who have made any attempt to impart christian instruction to the negroes; and numerous instances might be given,

* See page 176.

in which negroes have been cruelly flogged, and otherwise ill-treated, for—the sin of praying! but this will be more fully noticed hereafter. It is here briefly hinted at, as a proof of the cruel degradation to which the slave system exposed its wretched victims.

SECT. XII.—INSTANCES OF AGGRAVATED CRUELTY.

It is truly painful to perpetuate the remembrance of the crimes of our fellow-creatures, and the writer has felt some hesitation in giving these melancholy details: yet, without a specimen at least, and more will not be given, of the cruelties practised by individuals under this horrid system, the work would be very incomplete, and our reasons for joy and gratitude on its abolition would not be duly estimated. There is not one of the annexed anecdotes but is indisputably authenticated, and they are but a few out of a mass.

A wretch in Barbadoes had chained a negro girl to the floor, and flogged her till she was nearly expiring. Two gentlemen, hearing her cries, burst open the door and found her. The cruel tyrant retreated from their resentment, but cried out exultingly, that he had only given her thirty-nine lashes (the number limited by law) at any one time, and that he had only inflicted that number three times since the beginning of the night; but added, he was resolved to give her the fourth thirty-nine before morning, and would flog her to death if he pleased, as well as prosecute the gentlemen, whose humanity led them to interfere, and, in so doing, to trespass, by breaking open his door.

A master had wantonly cut the mouth of a child six months old, almost from ear to ear. It must surely have been to punish the mother, for such a babe was incapable of offending, except by its cries for want of nourishment and attention, to which it was very probably exposed. The master was convicted of the offence, but the jury doubted whether a master was indictable for the immediate correction of his slave, and left it subject to the opinion of the court. The result was, that he was sentenced to pay a fine of forty shillings currency; about twenty-five shillings sterling.

An overseer, for some trifling offence, threw a negro into a copper of boiling cane-juice; the poor creature, of course, perished: and what was the punishment of the murderer? He was discharged from his situation, and compelled to pay the value of the slave.

A girl, fourteen years of age, was dreadfully whipped for coming too late to her work; she fell down motionless, and was then dragged along the ground by the legs, to an hospital, where she died. The murderer, though tried, was acquitted, upon the idea that a man would not be so foolish as to destroy his own property.

In the island of Barbadoes, a British general met a youth, about nineteen, entirely naked, with an iron collar about his neck, having five long projecting spikes; his body was covered with wounds, his belly and thighs almost cut to pieces, and covered with ulcers, a finger might have been laid in some of the weals; he could not sit down, because his hinder part was mortified: he could not lie down on account of the prongs of the collar. He supplicated the general for relief. On being

asked who had punished him so dreadfully, he replied, his master had done it, and then, as he could not work, had turned him out to starve or beg.

A slave, under hard usage, had run away; to prevent a repetition of the offence, his owner sent for his surgeon and directed him to cut off the man's leg. The surgeon refused. The owner then broke the man's leg, and said to the surgeon, "Now you must cut it off, or the man will die."

A gentleman hearing the most piercing shrieks proceeding from an out-house, went to see what was going on; there he perceived a young female, entirely naked, tied up to a beam by her wrists, and involuntarily writhing and swinging, while the author of her torment stood below with a lighted torch, which he applied to all the parts of her body as it approached him. What was the crime of this wretched creature he did not know, but the worst that could be conceived would not justify such treatment.

The owner of a female slave beat her in the most cruel manner, only because, being desirous of selling her, he could not find a purchaser.

The manager of a plantation laid a negro on the ground, with two drivers over him, who gave him fifty lashes. It was afterwards proved that he was innocent of the crime laid to his charge, and he applied to the manager for redress; the reply was, "If you do not hold your tongue I will put you in the stocks." He, however, appealed to his owner, who answered, "I cannot help it; it is not my fault; the punishment you had was the manager's fault." Thus, disappointed of obtaining redress either from the manager or master, he next applied to the fiscal, or magistrate, appointed for the

protection of slaves. The manager endeavoured to justify himself, admitting, however, that he had flogged him, but only to the extent of thirty-nine lashes, and had confined him to the stocks every night for a week. And what was the redress which the suffering negro obtained? and what was the punishment inflicted on the overseer? Simply, that the latter was reprimanded for punishing a negro on such slight grounds!

A domestic female slave was charged both with theft and negligence, (but let the reader remember these charges might, or might not, be well founded. The masters and mistresses of slaves were under no obligation to prove the crime for which they inflicted punishment.) She was confined in the stocks seventeen days. The stocks were so constructed that she could not sit up or lie down at pleasure, and she was confined to them night and day. During this period she was flogged five or six times, and red pepper was rubbed in her eyes to prevent her sleeping. Tasks were given her which she was incapable of performing, sometimes because they were beyond her powers, and at other times because she could not see to do them, on account of the pepper in her eyes; she was then flogged for failing to accomplish those tasks. An epidemic fever was prevalent during her confinement in the stocks, by which she was affected, and, of course, weakened. When taken out of the stocks she appeared to be cramped, and was then again flogged. The very day of her release she was sent to field-labour, although before accustomed to work in the house. On the evening of the third day she was brought to her owners as being ill and refusing to work. She then complained of having fever. Her

master and mistress did not believe this complaint, but directed the driver, if she should be ill in the morning, to bring her for medicine. The driver took her to the negro-house and again flogged her. Next morning she was taken to work in the field, where she died at noon! The master and mistress were imprisoned and fined for their cruelty: O that their spared lives may have been employed in humble penitence, and application to that precious blood which alone can deliver and cleanse from blood guiltiness!

These instances will more than suffice to show the dreadful extent of bodily suffering to which these victims of oppression were exposed when they fell into the hands of individuals of a cruel and malignant disposition. One or two samples of the yet more cruel disregard to relative ties.

The following is given in the words of a missionary who witnessed the affecting fact. "A master of slaves exercised his barbarities on a sabbath morning, while we were worshiping God in the chapel, and the cries of the female sufferers have frequently interrupted our devotions; but there was no redress for them or for us. This man wanted money; and one of the female slaves having two fine children, he sold one of them, and the child was torn from her maternal affection. In the agony of her feelings she made a hideous howling, and for that crime was flogged. Some time afterwards he sold her other child; this turned her heart within her, and impelled her into a kind of madness: she howled night and day in the yard, tore her hair, ran up and down the streets rending the heavens with her cries, and literally watering the earth with her tears. Her constant cry was, "*De*

wicked massa, he sell me children. Will no buckra massa pity poor nego? What me do? me have no child!" As she stood before my window, she said, lifting up her hands to heaven, "*My massa, do my massa minister pity me! me heart do so,* (shaking herself violently,) *me heart do so because me have no child. Me go a massa house, in massa yard, and in me hut, but me no see um*;" and then her cry went up to God. I durst not (adds the missionary) be seen looking at her.

Another missionary relates the case of a husband and wife being sold into different islands, after having lived twenty-four years together, and reared a family of children.

A few years ago it was enacted that it should not be legal to transport once established slaves from one island to another. A gentleman resolving to do so before the act came in force, effected the removal of a great part of his live stock. He had a female slave, highly valuable to him, not the less so for being the mother of eight or nine children; her husband was the property of another owner in the neighbourhood: both of them were pious persons. Their masters not agreeing on a sale, separation ensued. Their minister accompanied them to the beach to be an eye-witness of the parting scene. One by one the father kissed his children with the firmness of a hero, and blessing them, gave, as his last words, "Farewell, be honest and obedient to your master." At length he had to take leave of his wife, there he stood, five or six yards from the mother of his children, unable to speak, or move, or do any thing, but gaze, and still to gaze, on the object of his long affections, about to cross the blue wave for ever from his

aching sight. The fire of his eyes alone gave indication of the passion, until, after some minutes standing there, he fell senseless on the sand, as if suddenly struck down by the hand of the Almighty. Nature could do no more. The blood gushed from his nostrils and mouth, as if rushing from the terrors of the conflict within; and, amid the confusion occasioned by this circumstance, the vessel bore off his family for ever from the island!

SECT. XIII.—PARTIAL AMELIORATION OF SLAVERY.

It is by no means desired, or desirable, to leave on the mind of the reader an impression that the lot of the slaves was equally wretched in all situations, and under all masters. There have been some honourable instances of persons coming involuntarily into the possession of slave plantations, who, perhaps, had not duly considered the real and unimproveable nature of the system, or who found it impracticable to fulfil their humane wishes, in altogether abolishing it even on their own estates, but who rendered it as tolerable as possible by their humane attention to the comfort of their slaves; not leaving them to the tender mercies of unprincipled and interested hirelings, but personally superintending their affairs, dwelling among their people, assigning moderate bounds to the labour required of them, affording them sufficient means of comfortable subsistence, encouraging by suitable rewards their diligence and fidelity, countenancing their endeavours to establish a little property, duly respecting the sacred ties of relationship, and taking pleasure in feeling themselves surrounded by contented happy families. This kind of conduct has

usually been pursued by persons who, being themselves enlightened by liberal principles, and under the influence of piety, were desirous of promoting the instruction of those dependent on them. On such estates the schoolmaster and the christian missionary have been encouraged, the negro has been elevated in the scale of society, he has had something worth living and labouring for, and something that could exalt and compose his mind in the prospect of death. These instances have occurred, and they have reduced slavery, especially in the case of those born on the estate, to little more than a name, and it has generally proved, that slaves thus humanely treated, have not been unworthy of the kindness shown them. But these instances have been "like angel's visits, few and far between." To such slaves as have been expatriated, nothing could do away the bitter recollection of original injury; and even of those who never knew any other lot than that of slavery, the more their minds were enlightened by knowledge, the more keenly would they feel the degradation connected even with the name; nor could either class dismiss the apprehension, that, in case of the death of their humane masters, the property must pass into other hands, and that they had no security that themselves or their families might not be transferred to the possession of some careless master, and to the iron grasp of some relentless slave-driver.

SECT. XIV.—HISTORY OF THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

With inexpressible pleasure we turn to this more delightful page of the subject, and though we have yet many weary steps to travel before we

reach the goal, they will, we trust, be pursued with interest and enlivened by expectation.

"The name of the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance; but the name of the wicked shall not." In accordance with these established axioms of sacred truth, as far as our little influence is concerned, we have suffered the names of the perpetrators of particular instances of cruelty and oppression to sink in silence and oblivion; but we will endeavour to collect at least the names of those who have distinguished themselves as the advocates of suffering humanity, and whose names ought to pass with honour down the stream of time. Wherever the record of their deeds shall reach, those who come after them shall praise God that ever they lived, that they were stirred up to sanction and uphold the righteous cause, and that at length success was granted to crown their persevering efforts. For the sake of clearness, these worthies will be divided into three classes. Those who expressed liberal sentiments, or in any way opposed the oppression of the negroes, before any systematic efforts were made in their behalf; those who avowedly aimed at the abolition of the slave-trade, with the measures they adopted, by which it was accomplished; and those who have been instrumental in effecting the abolition of slavery itself.

SECT. XV.—THE EARLY ADVOCATES OF THE ENSLAVED AFRICANS.

FRANCIS XIMENES, a Spanish cardinal, born 1437, died 1517. He was the zealous friend and

patron of literature and religion. He established universities at Alcala and Talavera, and founded a college in the latter place. He was fifteen years employed on a Polyglott Bible.* He was very assiduous in instructing the Moors in the christian religion, and in general seemed disposed to use the high degree of court favour which he enjoyed, in promoting the good of the people. He was confessor to queen Isabella of Spain; and on the death of king Ferdinand, her husband, was appointed regent, during the minority of their grand-son, Charles V. Death put a period to this dignity in little more than a year; but both his influence in the life-time of Ferdinand, and his authority after his death, were employed in opposing the progress of slavery, in the newly acquired dominions of the West. (see p. 111.)

Charles V. emperor of Germany, and king of Spain, perhaps deserves to be reckoned among the advocates of freedom. In the early part of his reign he inadvertently countenanced slavery, but was afterwards convinced of his error, and did his utmost to revoke it. An honourable instance of yielding to and acting upon the convictions of truth, even though they involve censure on our previous opinions and actions; but at the same time, an instance of the evil which may be inadvertently done by acting on false principles, or under false guidance, and which a future change of conduct cannot effectually undo.

Pope Leo X., early in the sixteenth century publicly expressed his abhorrence of the growing

* In which the words are given in several different languages, arranged in parallel columns.

iniquity. The Dominicans, a religious sect in the Romish church, settled in South America, witnessing the cruel treatment of the slaves, considered slavery as utterly repugnant to the principles of the gospel, and recommended its abolition. The Franciscans, another sect, did not favour these liberal principles, and an appeal was made to the pope, who was then regarded as the head of the church, and invested with vast temporal authority. His reply was "that not only the christian religion, but nature herself, cried out against a state of slavery."

The testimony of our own queen Elizabeth has been already given, (p. 113.) As also that of Louis XIII. king of France, (p. 113.)

Several old English writers of eminence, without expressly referring to African slavery, have in a general way testified against the criminality of "bringing one human being into absolute subjection to the will of another."

Our great poet, Milton, (born 1608, died 1674,) author of the celebrated poem, entitled, "Paradise Lost," thus reprobates the usurpation :—

> "O execrable son, so to aspire
> Above his brethren, to himself assuming
> Authority usurpt, from God not given.
> He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl,
> Dominion absolute; that right we hold
> By his donation: but man over man
> He made not lord, such title to himself
> Reserving, human left from human free."

Bishop Saunderson, (born 1587, died 1663,) and many others, bore testimony equally strong against trading in the persons of men; but their attention was not particularly directed to negro slavery, a knowledge of its enormities being

kept as closely as possible by a few persons interested in its continuance.

The first English writer who expressly took up the African's cause was Morgan Godwyn, a clergyman of the church of England. He wrote a treatise, entitled, "The Negro's and Indian's Advocate," which he dedicated to the archbishop of Canterbury. In the island of Barbadoes, he had been an eye-witness of the sufferings of that oppressed people, and in an affecting manner exposed to his countrymen the brutal sentiments and conduct of their tyrants. The celebrated nonconformist divine, Richard Baxter, (born 1615, died 1691,) on several occasions pleaded the cause of the negroes and other slaves. In his Christian Directory, he severely deprecates the trade, saying, that "Those who go out as pirates, and take away poor Africans and people of another land, who never forfeited life or liberty, and make them slaves or sell them, are the worst of robbers, and ought to be considered as the common enemies of mankind; and that they who buy them, and use them as mere beasts of burden, for their own convenience, regardless of their spiritual welfare, are fitter to be called demons than christians." He then proposes several queries, which he answers in a close and forcible manner, showing the great inconsistency of this traffic, and the necessity of treating those already in bondage with tenderness, and with a due regard to their spiritual concerns.

About the same time with the Christian Directory, was issued a treatise by Thomas Tryon, an essay in three parts, addressed to planters. The last part, in the form of a dialogue between an Ethiopian slave and his christian master, in a striking manner displays the inconsistency both of

the commerce and state of slavery, with reason, humanity, justice, and religion.

Contemporary with Baxter, was George Fox, founder of the religious sect, commonly called Quakers, or Friends, who left his testimony against this wicked trade. Fox was born 1624, died 1690. In 1671 he visited the island of Barbadoes, and there appealed to his religious friends on behalf of the negroes, "Consider," said he, "if you were in the same condition as the poor Africans are, who came strangers among you, and who were sold to you as slaves. If this should be the hard condition of you or yours, you would think it a hard measure, yea, and a very great bondage and cruelty; and therefore consider seriously of this, and do you for them and to them, as you would willingly have them or others do unto you, if you were in the like slavish condition, and bring them to the Lord Jesus Christ." He advised his friends not only to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and avoid all cruelty, but also, after a certain period of servitude, to make them free.

William Edmundson, a colleague of George Fox, not only concurred in the same sentiments, but had the courage to express them to the governor of the island, urging the duty of humanity to the slaves, and that of imparting to them moral and religious instruction.

Thomas Southern,* a dramatic writer, (born

* The mention of any writer, or even any work in this catalogue, does not necessarily express general approbation of the author or his sentiments. Correct sentiments on this one subject, entitle him to a place here; and it is interesting to observe writers of different sentiments on almost every other subject agreeing on this.

1659, died 1746,) published a celebrated tragedy, called Oronooko, or the Royal Slave, which excited considerable inquiry and interest in the condition of slaves, as the tragedy consisted not of fiction, but a weaving together of real transactions in the slave colonies.

Dr. Primutt, in a "Dissertation on the Duty of Mercy, and Sin of Cruelty to brute Animals," takes occasion to plead the cause of that portion of the human race who have been treated worse than brutes. These are his just sentiments: "It has pleased God to cover some men with white skins, and others with black, but, as there is neither merit nor demerit in complexion, the white man, notwithstanding the barbarity of custom and prejudice, can have no right, by virtue of his colour, to enslave and tyrannize over the black man; for whether a man be white or black, such he is by God's appointment, and, abstractedly considered, is neither a subject for pride nor an object of contempt."

Baron Montesquieu, a French nobleman, (born 1689, died 1755,) author of several moral and political works, justly pronounced "slavery to be not good in itself—it is neither useful to the master nor to the slave: not to the slave, because he can do nothing from virtuous motives; not to the master, because he contracts among his slaves all sorts of bad habits,—he becomes haughty, passionate, obdurate, vindictive, voluptuous, and cruel." On the sentiment that negroes are an inferior race, he says, "It is impossible to allow the negroes to be men, because, if we allow them to be men, it will begin to be believed that we are not christians."

Francis Hutcheson, (born 1694, died 1747,)

author of a System of Moral Philosophy, strongly reprobated the practice, and observed, that "nothing but the stupifying influence of custom, could reconcile men who professed the christian religion, to endure, without abhorrence and indignation, a computation about the value of their fellow-men and their liberty."

James Foster, (born 1697, died 1752,) author of "Discourses on Natural Religion and Social Virtue," in that work powerfully entered his protest against slavery, as a practice "which bids that God, who is the God and Father of the gentiles unconverted to christianity, most bold and daring defiance, and spurns at all the principles both of natural and revealed religion."

Sir Richard Steele, an essayist and dramatic writer, (born 1671, died 1729,) one of the coadjutors of Addison in the Spectator and other classical works, wrote an affecting story, called Inkle and Yarico, designed to hold up the slave-trade to just abhorrence.

The Society of Friends have uniformly manifested themselves to be the friends of humanity and liberty. We have already noticed the correct sentiments of its earliest supporters; and in proportion as intercourse was more frequently maintained with the distant colonies, and the abominations of slavery were more generally known, this people were more decided and general in their opposition to it. In 1727, the whole society, at a meeting in London, passed a general resolution, "That the importing of negroes from their native country by Friends is not a commendable nor allowed practice, and is therefore censured by this meeting." At several subsequent meetings, through

a series of years, resolutions were passed to the same effect, but gradually increasing in strength. In 1758, they declared the practice to be in direct violation of the gospel rule, and warned all in profession with them, carefully to avoid being in any way concerned in reaping the unrighteous profits arising from so iniquitous a practice. In 1761, they went so far as to disown all who should persist in a practice so repugnant to christianity, and so reproachful to a christian profession. In 1763, they not only renewed their exhortation to all in their connexion, to keep clear from all direct participation in this guilty traffic, but also restrained them from, in any way whatever, aiding and abetting it. By which it would appear, that no one in that society could knowingly furnish even materials for such a voyage.

The Friends in America had seen much both of the slave-trade and of slavery; and though, at their first settlement in America, they inadvertently fell into the common custom of the settlers, of purchasing and employing slaves, they were gradually convinced of the evils of the system, and its inconsistency with their principles. New settlers had lands without labourers, and families without servants, or a competent number of them: Africans were poured in to obviate these difficulties, and the *Friends*, as well as many other humane and religious persons, were drawn in to purchase, having little or no idea of the manner in which they had been procured as slaves; but such were the humanity and tenderness with which they treated their sable brethren, and such was the concern they discovered for their spiritual welfare, that, except as to the power legally belong-

ing to it, slavery was in general little more than servitude in their hands. By degrees, this enlightened people perceived the impropriety of one human being enriching or accommodating himself by the constrained services of another, which no ameliorating circumstances could fully justify; and also, that injury was done by the example even of humane masters of slaves, in sanctioning those who did not treat them with humanity. These considerations, urged upon them from time to time by their religious leaders, had their due weight and influence, in gradually abolishing from the society the practice of slavery.

As early as the year 1688, some inhabitants of Pennsylvania, (or the woody tract of country, in North America, colonized by William Penn, a leader, and, in America, the founder of the sect of Quakers,) urged the inconsistency of buying, selling, and holding men in slavery, with the principles of the christian religion.

In 1696, the subject was again brought before the yearly meeting, and issued in an exhortation to refrain from future purchases of African slaves, and to treat with great humanity those already in their possession. Subsequent meetings reiterated their charges; but as it appeared that the practice was not universally abolished, in the year 1754, a most powerful appeal was issued, urging the case at large, on truly christian principles; afterwards, those members of the society who, in any respect, acted contrary to the injunctions given, were reproved, and if persisting, were expelled from the society. In 1776, it was enacted, that the owners of slaves who refused to execute proper legal instruments for giving them their

freedom, were to be disowned by the society; a subsequent circular directed that the children of slaves set free by members of the society, should be tenderly advised, and have a suitable education given them. Thus from year to year, the society, both in Pennsylvania and in Jersey, (an American state,) discovered unremitting attention to the means, not only of wiping away from their religious community the stain of slavery, but also of promoting the happiness of those restored by them to freedom, and of their posterity also. This bright example of the states of Pennsylvania and Jersey was, in process of time, followed by New England, New York, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. Very great difficulties were thrown in the way of emancipation: the person who freed a slave was obliged to enter into a bond to a considerable amount, in case the slave should become chargeable for maintenance; difficulty, however, did not deter this conscientious people from doing what they thought right, and some noble instances are on record of masters not only incurring the penalty of manumitting their slaves, but also paying them up all arrears of food, clothing, and wages, as if they had been hired servants. One generous individual, Warner Mifflin, received from his father thirty-seven negroes, to all of whom he gave unconditional liberty, with full payment for past services; some of them entreated permission to remain with him, and proved faithful servants.

In 1772, mutual congratulations were passed between the Friends in America and those in England, on account of some success having attended their conscientious efforts, by which, in

some of the colonies, the extent of the evil had been considerably lessened. This occasion was improved to keep alive the humane sentiments already expressed; and from that time there appears to have been a growing desire on the part of this benevolent people, not only to restrain their own members from polluting their hands with the gain of oppression, but to step out of their ordinary retiring course, by appealing to others; but we must not anticipate the second period, that of open combined exertion. We return to the efforts of individuals in the negro cause.

One individual of the Society of Friends, in America, who earliest distinguished himself as the advocate of freedom, was William Burling, of Long Island, who from his early youth entertained an abhorrence of slavery. In maturer years, he constantly endeavoured to impress on the society, at their yearly meetings, a sense of its unlawfulness. He also wrote several tracts with the same object: one of them was published as early as the year 1718.

Ralph Sandiford, a merchant of Philadelphia, was a zealous friend to the cause. This worthy man had offers of pecuniary assistance which would have advanced him in life, but he declined them all, because they came from persons whose property had been acquired by the oppression of slaves. He took every opportunity of urging on his friends the duty of liberating their slaves; and, in 1729, he published a work, called "The Mystery of Iniquity, in a brief Examination of the Practices of the Times." This work he circulated, free of expense, wherever he thought it

would be useful, although he had been threatened by the chief judge, in case he should give to the world such an exposé of obnoxious facts.

Benjamin Lay, of Abington, near Philadelphia, was enthusiastic in the negro's cause, to such a degree that his mind was at times disturbed and unhinged, when the subject of their sufferings was brought before him. He had long witnessed, in the island of Barbadoes, scenes of cruelty, of which he could never lose the impression. In 1738, he published a Treatise on Slave-keeping, and, on the whole, was the means of awakening the attention of many, and giving them impressions on the subject, which prepared them, in after life, to become more uniformly useful to it than he himself had been.

John Woolman, (born 1720, in the state of New Jersey,) was a diligent labourer in the cause. In early youth, he had many serious impressions of mind, and an earnest solicitude to be directed in the right way, and to be enabled to attain purity of thought and action. He was distinguished by tenderness of conscience, which soon led him to think seriously of the unlawfulness of slavery. Being directed by his employer to write a bill for the sale of a negro woman, he was much distressed in his mind, and although he was not a principal in the transaction, he could not feel satisfied with having, in any way, been concerned in it. Some time after, when requested to make a conveyance of a slave, he declined doing it. In course of time, he became a preacher among the Society of Friends, and in that capacity, in 1746, travelled through Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, in which were then the greatest number of slaves.

There he greatly increased his knowledge and observation on the subject. He was exceedingly grieved when he saw white people and their children living in state, with little or no labour, and enriching themselves by the hard labour of their slaves. He often conversed with them privately on the subject, and scrupled to accept their offers of free entertainment; but he felt differently in that respect where the masters bore a good share of the burden of labour, and lived frugally, so that their servants were moderately worked and comfortably provided for; yet still he felt a decided and growing objection to the practice of slavery, even under the most ameliorating circumstances. In 1753, he published a book on the subject. As the good man was sometimes employed in writing legal documents, when applied to write a will or other document in which the property to be transferred consisted of slaves, he declined the employment, however lucrative; and, on more than one occasion, the parties were so impressed by the principle upon which he refused them, that they bequeathed liberty to their slaves. In the year 1756, he visited Long Island, and afterwards Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Philadelphia, endeavouring to impress upon all with whom he conversed a sense of the sin and impolicy of slavery. In his public addresses, also, he urged the subject on the consciences of his friends. In the year 1759, he associated with himself two coadjutors, John Churchman and Samuel Eastburne, and sometimes alone, sometimes in company with one of them, he went from place to place expressly to plead the cause of the poor blacks.

In 1760, he went, accompanied by his friend Eastburne, to Rhode Island, where vast numbers of slaves were continually imported. The scenes he there witnessed deeply affected his mind, and impaired his health. He began to devise new methods of prosecuting the cause: he thought of petitioning the legislature to discourage all future importations of slaves, of speaking to the House of Assembly, which was then sitting, but was dissuaded from both these measures. He, however, held a conference with many members of his own society, when the question of slavery was calmly and peaceably discussed, and led to the conviction of many present, and to their abandoning a course which they perceived to be sinful. About this time, he printed a second part of his treatise, which he widely distributed, and laboured, wherever he went, whether on secular or religious business, to spread information, and excite to justice and humanity in the negro's cause.

In 1772, he visited England, where he travelled through many counties till he came to the city of York. Wherever he went, he was not unmindful of the cause he had espoused; in York, he urged it on the society at its quarterly meetings, that they having been long persecuted and oppressed on account of their religion, and having at length been induced to lay their case before the legislature, in due time obtained relief, so they might, with propriety, adopt the same method, of drawing attention to the sufferings and oppression of the negroes. This was his last effort on their behalf, for he was seized with the small-pox, and died in York.

A contemporary labourer in the cause of Africans was Anthony Benezet, (born 1713, died

1784.) He was a native of France. His parents were among the numerous protestants who, by the persecutions which followed the revocation of the edict of Nantz, were driven to seek an asylum in foreign countries. After staying some little time in Holland, the family settled in London, where Anthony received a liberal education, and served an apprenticeship in an eminent mercantile house in London. In 1731, the family removed to Philadelphia, in America, where three of the brothers embarked in trade, and realized a good property; but Anthony, actuated by principles of moderation and benevolence, chose the humble situation of a school-master, believing that, by instructing the rising youth in knowledge and virtue, he should become extensively useful to his fellow-creatures. His uniform spirit of uprightness, courtesy, and benevolence, soon attracted the good opinion of those around him, and won their respect and confidence. He had ready access to them on every occasion, which he failed not to improve in pleading the cause and promoting the interests of the needy and distressed. Such a man was eminently fitted to become the advocate of the oppressed African race.

It has been justly observed, that, "as in all great works, a variety of talents is necessary to bring them to perfection, so Providence seems to prepare different men, as instruments, with dispositions and qualifications so various, that each, in pursuing that line which seems to suit him best, contributes to furnish those parts, which, when put together, make a complete whole." It was thus that John Woolman (p. 180,) and Anthony Benezet, became valuable and efficient coadjutors in the cause of

Africa. The former directed his attention to slavery itself, and chiefly confined his exertions to persons of his own religious profession in America; the latter more directly attacked the slave-trade, and endeavoured to spread a knowledge and hatred of the traffic throughout the great society of the world.

One important engine employed by Benezet, was the education of youth He took care to imbue the minds of his scholars with enlightened views and correct principles on the subject, and thus he was every year multiplying, preparing, and sending forth in every direction future coadjutors in the cause. He also procured the insertion of articles in almanacs and public newspapers, calculated to extend knowledge and awaken enquiry. He was continually on the alert to obtain further information on the subject, which, with suitable observations and reflections, he wrought up into small tracts, which he circulated (generally at his own expence), as he considered them best adapted to the circumstances and temper of the times. This engaged him in a very extensive correspondence, which engrossed much of his time, but which proved highly important in procuring many advocates for his cause. As his information increased, he published several larger works: "An Account of that part of Africa inhabited by the Negroes;" "A Warning to Great Britain and her Colonies on the calamitous State of the enslaved Negroes;" and "An Historical Account of Guinea, its Situation, Produce, and the general Disposition of the Inhabitants; with an Enquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Slave-, its Nature, and calamitous Effects." This

book brought the subject more thoroughly to light than any thing that had preceded it, and became, in a high degree, instrumental in producing a detestation of the practice. The life of this good man was devoted to the cause of the oppressed Africans, and he was constantly on the watch for opportunities to promote it. Every friend who visited at his house became the bearer of tracts or other communications to the place of his residence, and a correspondence was kept up with persons like-minded throughout the world; thus unity of action was kept up between them, and mutual encouragement afforded. Among his principal correspondents in Great Britain, were Granville Sharp, John Wesley, George Whitefield, and Lady Huntingdon, (see p. 190.) In France, he corresponded with the Abbé Raynal, who, in his celebrated work, (p. 201,) manifested so tender a concern for the poor Africans, hoping to stimulate him to further exertions in their cause.

During the American war with Great Britain, which issued in its separation from the parent kingdom, the English slave-trade had considerably declined, probably from the exposedness of British vessels to be captured by those of America, and still more, from the traders being precluded from employing the aid of either American vessels or merchants; but on the close of the war, the traffic soon began to revive. This was a cause of deep regret to every friend of humanity, whose attention had been directed to the subject, and to none more than to Benezet, who addressed a pathetic letter to Queen Charlotte, soliciting her benevolent influence on behalf of the oppressed. This letter was received with distinguished marks of

condescension and attention, the queen being already prepossessed in favour of the writer, by the representations of Benjamin West, the celebrated historical painter, who was a native of America, and who had been educated in the same religious profession as Benezet. The simplicity and pathos of this letter cannot but be gratifying and instructive, it is therefore subjoined:—

To Charlotte, Queen of Great Britain.

"Impressed with a sense of religious duty, and encouraged by the opinion generally entertained of thy benevolent disposition to succour the distressed, I take the liberty very respectfully to offer to thy perusal some tracts, which I believe faithfully describe the suffering condition of many hundred thousands of our fellow-creatures of the African race, great numbers of whom, rent from every tender connexion in life, are annually taken from their native land, to endure, in the American islands and plantations, a most rigorous and cruel slavery, whereby many, very many of them, are brought to a melancholy and untimely end.

"When it is considered that the inhabitants of Great Britain, who are themselves eminently blessed in the enjoyment of religious and civil liberty, have long been, and yet are, very deeply concerned in this flagrant violation of the common rights of mankind, and that even its national authority is exerted in support of the African slave-trade, there is much reason to apprehend that this has been, and, as long as the evil exists, will continue to be, an occasion of drawing down

the Divine displeasure on the nation and its dependencies.

"May these considerations induce thee to interpose thy kind endeavours in behalf of this greatly injured people, whose abject situation gives them an additional claim to the pity and assistance of the generous mind, inasmuch as they are altogether deprived of the means of soliciting effectual relief for themselves; that so thou mayest not only be a blessed instrument in the hands of Him 'by whom kings reign and princes decree justice' to avert the awful judgments by which the empire has already been so remarkably shaken, but that the blessings of thousands ready to perish may come upon thee, at a time when the superior advantages attendant on thy situation in the world will no longer be of any avail to thy consolation and support. To the tracts to which I have thus ventured to crave thy particular attention, I have added some which, at different times, I have believed it my duty to publish, and which, I trust, will afford thee some satisfaction, their design being for the furtherance of that universal peace and good-will among men which the gospel was intended to introduce. I hope thou wilt kindly excuse the freedom used on this occasion by an ancient man, whose mind, for more than forty years past, has been much separated from the common intercourse of the world, and long painfully exercised in the consideration of the miseries under which so large a part of mankind, equally with us the objects of redeeming love, are suffering the most unjust and grievous oppression, and who sincerely desires thy temporal and eternal felicity, and that of thy royal consort.

"ANTHONY BENEZET."

It is a great part of practical wisdom, when circumstances prevent our accomplishing all we could wish, not to overlook or neglect opportunities of doing what is in our power. The benevolent mind of Benezet was set upon the total abolition of the slave-trade and slavery, yet he did not think it beneath his notice to promote the comforts and improve the conditions of those in a state of slavery. He promoted the establishment of a school for the instruction of negroes, and devoted much personal attendance on it, being earnestly desirous that they might be better qualified for the enjoyment of that freedom, which, in some instances, individual benevolence might confer on them, or which he anticipated as, on a more general scale, the ultimate result of persevering exertions in the cause of humanity. To the support of this school he sacrificed the emoluments of that in which he had formerly been engaged, and laboriously devoted the last two years of his life, although the weakness of his frame seemed to demand indulgence. It was his high satisfaction to find, on a comparison, which, by experience in tuition, he was well qualified to make, that Providence had been equally liberal to the Africans, in genius and talents, as to any other people.

This excellent man died at Philadelphia, after a few days' illness. His funeral was attended by several thousands of persons of all ranks, professions, and parties, who united in deploring the common loss. The procession was closed by hundreds of poor Africans, who had been personally benefited by his labours, and who lamented him as the benefactor of their race. He bequeathed the whole of his property, saved by the industry of

fifty years, to be applied, on the death of his widow, to the support of the African school which he had instituted.

The last individuals mentioned, beginning with William Burling, were of the Society of Friends. Their example and influence were beneficially communicated to other religious denominations. Contemporary with Burling was Judge Sewell, who addressed a memorial to the legislature of New England, entitled "The selling of Joseph;" in this, both as a christian and a lawyer, he pleaded the cause of the negroes. This memorial produced a considerable effect, especially on his own religious connexion, and from that time the Presbyterians generally favoured the cause.

The celebrated George Whitefield (born 1714, died 1770), whose indefatigable labours, both in England and America, were eminently honoured with the Divine blessing, was instrumental in exciting much attention and sympathy on behalf of the negroes. Having been himself deeply affected by what he witnessed of their oppressions and sufferings, he addressed a letter to the inhabitants of several of the states of America in which slavery most abounded, questioning whether it could be lawful for christians to buy slaves, and thereby encourage the nations to maintain perpetual war with each other in order to furnish them, and specially remonstrating against the sinfulness of treating them as if they were mere brutes, or even worse, and enjoying all the conveniences and luxuries of life, while the slaves, by whose indefatigable labour they were procured, were left in destitution, and exposed to hardship and cruelty. This expostulation produced considerable effect; and as Whitefield,

wherever he had an opportunity, continued through life to plead the cause of the poor Africans, he was the means of enlisting many thousands of his followers in their favour. Both Whitefield and Wesley were in correspondence with Anthony Benezet, concerting with him plans for promoting the cause of the oppressed. Under the patronage of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, and aided by the liberality of many persons, both in England and America, Whitefield had founded an institution in Georgia, called the Orphan House. It was designed for the protection and education of the destitute poor, and with the ulterior view of training for the christian ministry such as might appear to possess suitable talents and piety. It was also anticipated by Whitefield that this institution would prove useful to the Africans; but, on the contrary, soon after his death, those who succeeded him bought a great number of slaves, to extend the rice and indigo plantations belonging to the college, and so, in fact, to reduce a benevolent institution to a mere mercantile speculation, involving that most guilty of all traffics, the slave-trade. Anthony Benezet wrote to the countess, apprising her of the fact, and appealing to her religious principles, as to the inconsistency of allowing the managers of her college to encourage the slave-trade. The countess replied, that such a measure should never have her concurrence, and that she would take care to prevent it. Her name, therefore, deserves a place among the friends of the negro race.

As early as the year 1762, ministers in the connexion of John Wesley were settled in America. Their influence was considerable in gradually softening the feelings of those among whom they la-

boured, and inducing humanity and consideration towards the poor Africans; but their labours, as well as those of the Moravians, were of a directly religious nature. They carefully avoided meddling with the political state of things, by urging masters to alter the condition of their slaves, but rather laboured to diffuse those principles which would dispose the master to humanity, and sustain the slave under the ills of his condition, and thus indirectly do away the horrors, and indeed the existence of slavery. The Moravians, although they abstained from verbally urging on masters the duty of liberating their slaves, bore their silent but convincing testimony, by invariably liberating all who came into their possession.

Dr. Benjamin Rush, (born 1745, died 1813,) distinguished as a literary and scientific man, and in high repute as a physician, befriended the cause of the Africans, in an address to the inhabitants of the British settlements on the slavery of the negroes. This he wrote at the suggestion of Benezet; and afterwards a second tract, in vindication of the former against the acrimonious attack of a West India planter. Dr. Rush was, by religious profession, a Presbyterian; and, together with James Pemberton, a leading man among the Quakers, originated a society, open to all in Pensylvania who were friendly to the negro cause. This was the first society in America in which persons of different religious denominations combined in this behalf.

Dr. Benjamin Franklin, (born 1706, died 1790,) a celebrated philosopher, politician, and moralist, (well known in England by his celebrated almanac, containing "Poor Richard's Maxims," or

"the Way to Wealth,") was a warm and steady friend to the injured Africans. Many expressions in his letters speak his sentiments, and, on the extension and enlargement of the above-mentioned Society "for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of free Negroes, unlawfully held in Bondage," he became its president.

Elhanan Winchester, a preacher of the doctrine of universal redemption, distinguished himself as a friend to the cause, both by private interference and public preaching.

William Dillwyn, a most efficient instrument in the cause, was born in America, and was a pupil of the venerable Benezet, who early imbued his mind and interested his feelings on the side of humanity. He was occasionally employed by his master as an amanuensis, both in preparing his manuscripts for the press, and in writing private letters on the cause. This gave him a thorough insight into the subject; and, together with his own observations, in a land where both slavery and the slave-trade were established, well qualified him to impart information and refute objections, to which others, for want of local knowledge, would have been unqualified. In 1772, Dillwyn visited Carolina, introduced by Benezet to many principal persons there; and having had interviews with them, and made very particular observations on the cruel treatment of slaves, he returned from his mission with a sense of duty rivetted in his mind, through life to do every thing in his power for their relief. The following year, in conjunction with Richard Smith and Daniel Wells, he ote a pamphlet, entitled "Brief Considerations lavery, and the expediency of its Abolition."

In this he answered the arguments against abolition, and gave hints for a safe and equitable accomplishment of it. The same year, on occasion of a petition to the legislature, William Dillwyn was one of a deputation who addressed the assembly in person. In 1774 he came to England, and was the bearer of the letter of Benezet, abovementioned, to the Countess of Huntingdon, and to him also was afterwards entrusted that to be forwarded to the queen. He became an active promoter of the cause in England at a later period.

Granville Sharp, (born 1734, died 1813,) a distinguished linguist and philanthropist. He was educated to the bar, but never practised. He held a place under government, but relinquished it at the commencement of the American war, on account of his conscientious objection to that measure. He afterwards took chambers in the Temple, where he resided the remainder of his life, devoting his time to pursuits of literature and active benevolence. His works tended to elucidate the holy scriptures, as did his life to exemplify their precepts and principles. In the cause of the negro he was an able and indefatigable advocate. Indeed, he might be denominated the first *actual labourer* in England; as he not only endeavoured to diffuse sentiments of humanity on behalf of the oppressed Africans, but also determined on a plan of action, to which he devoted a great portion of his time, talents, and substance. We shall again have occasion to refer more particularly to this excellent man.

In 1735 a publication was issued, which caused the real nature and transactions of the slave-trade

to be better known, and excited among persons of humanity a disposition to further inquiry. This was a Narrative, by Atkins, a surgeon in the navy, of a Voyage to Guinea, Brazil, and the West Indies. This work described the manner of obtaining slaves by kidnapping, unjust accusations and trials, exciting wars, and other nefarious means. It also stated the cruelties practised upon them by the white people, and fully refuted the too generally received idea that the condition of the African was improved by transportation into other countries.

Alexander Pope, one of our most celebrated poets, (born 1688, died 1744,) in his Essay on Man, when arguing on the present happiness arising to man from the hope of a future state, takes occasion to excite compassion on behalf of the poor African, while he exposes the avarice and cruelty of his master.

"Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutor'd mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears Him in the wind.
His soul proud science never taught to stray
Far as the solar walk or milky way;
Yet simple Nature to his hope has giv'n,
Beyond the cloud-capt hill, an humbler heaven,
Some safer world, in depths of wood embraced,
Some happier island in the watery waste,
Where slaves once more their native land behold,
No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold."

James Thomson, (born 1700, died 1748,) in his truly beautiful descriptive poem, "The Seasons," has a touching allusion to the well-known fact of sharks following the slave-ships, from an instinctive knowledge of the frequent prey thence afforded them.

"Increasing still the sorrows of those storms,
His jaws terrific arm'd with three-fold fate,
Here dwells the direful shark. Lur'd by the scent
Of steaming crowds, of rank disease and death,
Behold! he rushing cuts the briny flood,
Swift as the gale can bear the ship along,
And from the partners of that cruel trade,
Which spoils unhappy Guinea of her sons,
Demands his share of prey, demands themselves.
The stormy fates descend; one death involves
Tyrants and slaves: when straight their mangled limbs
Crashing at once, he dyes the purple seas
With gore, and riots in the vengeful meal."

Richard Savage, a poet, (born 1698, died 1743,) warned the oppressors of Africans of a day of retribution. Having personified Public Spirit, he thus speaks:—

"Let, by my specious name, no tyrants rise
And cry, while they enslave, they civilize.
Know, Liberty and I are still the same,
Congenial—ever mingling flame with flame.
Why must I Afric's sable children see
Vended for slaves, though born by nature free.
The nameless tortures cruel minds invent,
Those to subject, whom Nature equal meant.
If these you dare, (although unjust success
Empowers you now, unpunish'd, to oppress,)
Revolving empire you and yours may doom.
(Rome all subdued, but Vandals vanquish'd Rome.)
Yes—empire may revolt—give them the day,
And yoke may yoke, and blood may blood repay."

In a "System of the Laws of Scotland," by Wallis, we have the following noble sentiments—"Neither men nor governments have a right to sell those of their own species—men and their liberty are neither purchaseable nor saleable." "This is the law of nature, which is obligatory on all men, at all times, and in all places. Would

not any of us who should be snatched by pirates from his native land, think himself cruelly abused, and at all times entitled to be free? Have not these unfortunate Africans, who meet with the same cruel fate, the same right? Are they not men as well as we? And have they not the same sensibility? Let us not, therefore, defend or support an usage, which is contrary to all the laws of humanity."

Among all the advocates of the negro, none were more efficient than those who, having been in any way connected with the traffic, or with the colonies to which slaves were imported, came home and testified to facts of which they had been eye-witnesses. Such was the Rev. Griffith Hughes, a clergyman in Barbadoes, who, in 1750, published the Natural History of that island. In the course of his work he took an opportunity of laying open to the world the miserable situation of the poor Africans, and the waste of life, by hard labour and other cruel means; and he had the generosity to vindicate their capacities from the charge of inferiority, which their tyrants made a plea in justification of their own wickedness in depriving them of the right of men.

Edmund Burke, an eminent politician, (born 1730, died 1797,) in a work on the European settlements, which, though published anonymously, is universally attributed to him, complained that the negroes endured a slavery more complete and intolerable than had been known in any time, or in any part of the world; and urged, by every motive of humanity, morality, and religion, that they should experience a different treatment.

The poet Shenstone (born 1714, died 1763)

wrote one of his elegies expressly to discountenance the slave-trade, of which the following is an extract. He supposes the negro torn from his native shore, and describes him as bleeding and weeping his sum of life away.

"On the wild heath, in mournful guise he stood,
Ere the shrill boatswain gave the hateful sign,
He dropt a tear unseen into the flood,
He stole one secret moment to repine.

Why am I ravish'd from my native strand?
What savage race protects this impious gain?
Shall foreign plagues infest this teeming land,
And more than sea-born monsters plough the main?

Here the dire locust's horrid swarms prevail,
Here the blue asps with livid poison swell,
Here the dry dypsa writhes his sinuous mail,
Can we not here secure from envy dwell?

When the grim lion urg'd his cruel chace,
When the grim panther sought his midnight prey,
What fate reserv'd me for this christian race,
O race more polish'd, more severe than they."

In the year 1755, Dr. Hayter, Bishop of Norwich, preached a sermon before the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," in which he bore his testimony against the continuance of the slave-trade.

John Dyer, a poet, (born 1700, died 1758,) in his principal poem, called "The Fleece," expressed his sorrow on account of this barbarous trade, and his anticipation of a day of retributive justice on the perpetrators of so great an evil.

In the year 1760 a pamphlet was published, called "Two Dialogues on the Man Trade," by John Philmore. The name probably was assumed, but the author argued with ability and zeal on behalf of the injured race.

Malachi Postlethwaite, a commercial writer, (born 1707, died 1767,) in a work entitled "A Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce," addressed a number of pointed queries on the subject of the slave-trade, tending to prove its impolicy, as well as injustice and inhumanity.

Thomas Jeffery, in the year 1761, published an account of part of North America, in which he laid open the miserable condition of the negroes in point of food, clothing, labour, and punishments; and appealed to the feelings of common humanity on their behalf.

Two sentimental writers, whose works in general are of a very objectionable tendency, took decidedly the part of the oppressed Africans; and from the pathetic, witty, and sentimental manner in which they alluded to the subject, impressed it on the minds of many who would not have listened to argument, and interested their feelings on behalf of the injured slaves. These were John James Rousseau, a native of Switzerland, born 1711, died 1778; and Lawrence Sterne, born 1713, died 1768.

In 1766, Dr. Warburton, bishop of Gloucester (born 1698, died 1779), preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In a noble manner he pleaded the cause of the injured Africans. From this appeal some extracts have already been given.

Thomas Day, (born 1748, died 1789, the well-known author of Sandford and Merton, and Little Jack,) in 1773 published a poem, entitled "The Dying Negro," which produced a considerable sensation on behalf of the persecuted race. He also afterwards published a letter on negro slavery,

originally addressed to a friend in America, with the design of dissuading him from holding property in slaves.

About the same time Dr. James Beattie, (born 1735, died 1803,) Professor of Moral Philosophy in Mareschal College, Aberdeen, published "An Essay on Truth," which met with great acceptance and wide circulation. In this work the Doctor took an opportunity of vindicating the intellectual powers of the Africans, and of condemning their slavery as a barbarous piece of policy, and as inconsistent with the free and generous spirit of the British nation.

In 1774 John Wesley (born 1703, died 1790), a celebrated divine and laborious preacher, founder of the sect of methodists, which bears his name, published a work called "Thoughts on Slavery." He had been in America, and had seen and pitied the hard condition of slaves, which led him thus to advocate their cause. Nor were his efforts on their behalf confined to this work alone. He had the cause much at heart, and frequently pressed it on the notice of his hearers, and especially of the ministers in his connexion (see p. 190).

In 1776, a History of Loango, and other kingdoms in Africa, was brought out in Paris, by the Abbé Proyart. This work did ample justice to the moral and intellectual character of the native Africans, and consequently refuted the vile calumnies which had been uttered against them.

Dr. Adam Smith, (born 1723, died 1790,) author of several valuable and popular moral and political works, was distinguished as the negro's advocate. In his "Theory of Moral Sentiments," he held up the negroes in an honourable, and their tyrants in

a degrading light. "There is not a negro on the coast of Africa, who does not, in this respect, possess a degree of magnanimity which the soul of his sordid master is too often scarcely capable of conceiving." In 1776 he published his most celebrated work, entitled "The Wealth of Nations," in which he clearly proved that the employing of slaves was no less impolitic than inhuman, as the cost of slave-labour was much beyond that of free men. This was a forcible appeal to those with whom interest bore predominant sway; but selfish policy is always short-sighted; and, perhaps, in no instance has a greater degree of infatuation prevailed, than in the tenacity with which the adherents of slavery have clung to their system, against the most convincing proofs that they did so to their own injury.

Another political writer who befriended the negro's cause was Professor Millar (born 1735, died 1801). He wrote an Essay on the Origin of Ranks, in which he explained the impolicy of slavery in general, its bad effects upon industry, morals, and population. He exposed the bad system of agriculture adopted on our islands; how little pains were taken, and how few contrivances thought of to ease the labourers there; and he especially pointed out the inconsistency of a people boasting of their own freedom, yet reducing a great proportion of their fellow-men to the most cruel bondage.

Dr. Robertson, (born 1721, died 1791,) an eminent historian, laid open many facts, relative both to the Indians and Africans, which tended much to condemn the practise of bringing men into bondage. His principal works were, a History of

America, and History of Charles V. (Emperor of Germany and King of Spain). In both he takes every opportunity of proving that the trade was "no less repugnant to the feelings of humanity than to the principles of religion;" and in the latter work he most clearly demonstrates the influence of christianity, in gradually extirpating slavery from the west of Europe in the twelfth century, and thence argues the duty of modern christians to put a stop to the cruel trade.

William Thomas Raynal, (born 1743, died 1796,) a French Abbé, wrote a "Political and Philosophical History of the European Settlements in the West Indies," and several other works, in which he gave an account of the laws, government, and religion of Africa; its produce, the manners of the inhabitants, the slave-trade, &c. &c. He urged the duty of humanity to the slaves; but, lest this should be construed into approbation of the system, before he quitted the subject, he proved its utter inconsistency with sound policy, justice, reason, humanity, and religion.

William Paley, Archdeacon of Carlisle, (born 1743, died 1805,) author of several valuable works, especially on Natural Theology, on the Evidences of Christianity, on the History of St. Paul, and on the Elements of Moral and Political Economy. The last-mentioned work was published in 1785; in this he severely reprehended the African slave-trade, as in itself a gross violation of the law of nature, and attended with many aggravating circumstances of cruelty. This work obtained, and has ever since maintained, an extensive circulation, not only in private libraries, but also in public

academies and universities, where there can be no doubt it produced a beneficial and extensive influence on the minds of rising youth.

Among those who by their works advocated the cause of Africa, independently of any systematic efforts to abolish the slave-trade, we must notice Dr. Beilby Porteus, (born 1731, died 1809,) first Bishop of Chester, and afterwards Bishop of London. In 1783, he preached and published a sermon on behalf of the negroes, before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which was widely circulated, and tended much to excite a benevolent interest on behalf of that injured race. This pious and enlightened prelate never failed to aid the cause he had undertaken. His support, when the measure of abolition was brought before parliament, was uniform and important; and he lived to see the happy termination of the contest in the abolition of the slave-trade. We shall have repeated occasion to allude to the benevolent and indefatigable exertions of this excellent man, who claims a place both in our first and second class of worthies.

In 1784, Dr. George Gregory, (born 1754, died 1808,) produced a volume of Essays, Historical and Moral. In these he took an opportunity of disseminating a circumstantial knowledge of the slave-trade, and an equal abhorrence of it. By many weighty arguments he proved it to be an unmixed evil, whether regarded in a moral or political point of view. He proposed, as a parliamentary measure, the abolition both of the slave-trade and slavery itself, proving the advantage, both to England and her colonies, from such a measure, and

specified various articles in which a traffic with Africa might be substituted for that which he desired to suppress.

In the same year Gilbert Wakefield (born 1756, died 1801) preached a powerful sermon at Richmond, in Surrey, exhibiting the dreadful injustice, cruelty, and inconsistency of the slave-trade, as practised by Britons, who boast of their liberty, and by christians, who profess a religion of mercy, meekness, and love.

Another able advocate of the negroes was James Ramsay (born 1733, died 1789). He resided nineteen years in the island of St. Christopher's, where he held two rectories. There he had abundant opportunities of observing the treatment of the negroes, and had studied the laws relating to them. In 1781 he returned to England, and settled at Leston, in Kent. His West Indian recollections, however, were ever present to his mind, and he yielded to a sense of duty, and to the solicitation of friends, in publishing "An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of the African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies." Beside the general topics, as to the injustice, cruelty, and degradation to which the negroes were exposed, he dwelt much on the difficulty of instructing them while in their oppressed condition, at the same time fully answering, from his own experience, all objections against their capability of receiving instruction under ordinarily favourable circumstances. He urged the advantage to the master's interest in giving them freedom, and granting them other privileges, especially the means of religious instruction.

Mr. Ramsay's attempt to serve the cause of his

much injured fellow-creatures, exposed him to the forfeiture of friendships contracted on the islands, to much injury in his private property there, and to the ill-will and persecution of many, whose sordid interests led them to desire that all subjects connected with slavery should be veiled over, or touched with a very delicate hand. These inconveniences, however, were more than counterbalanced by the knowledge that this testimony of an eye-witness attracted much attention, excited much conversation, and produced a considerable impression on the subject. It was evident that Englishmen could not much longer be kept in the dark, and continue unwittingly to sanction the guilty oppression. It became necessary to do one of three things: either to deny and disprove the statements which had been made as to the injustice and cruelty of slavery; or, admitting the truth of these charges, to persist in what was avowedly wrong, to resist the voice of conscience, to make paramount the pleas of interest, and to forfeit all claim to common humanity; or, to relinquish and oppose a system which, however rendered familiar by custom and endeared by interest, was manifestly a transgression against God and man. On the appearance of Mr. Ramsay's book, the first course was adopted by several persons, who attempted to answer and refute the charges; few were at that time hardy and shameless enough to admit the guilt and yet avow themselves the advocates of the practice; but in the first controversy ever entered into on this subject, truth was brought to light, and spread the more widely by the very efforts to oppose and suppress it; and thus the third class was daily multiplying among impartial, enlight-

ened, and conscientious persons. In addition to his first essay, Mr. Ramsay produced "An Enquiry into the Effects of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade;" "A Reply to Personal Invectives and Objections;" "A Letter to James Tobin, Esq.;" "Objections to the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, with Answers, and an Examination of 'Harris's Scriptural Researches on the Lawfulness of the Slave-Trade;'" and "An Address on the proposed Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade." From the time this good man took up the cause, he was incessantly engaged in it until his death, which, to all human appearance, was hastened by his exertions. But it was a noble cause in which he fell a martyr; and the good man died satisfied in having been instrumental in exciting an investigation of the subject, which, he felt fully convinced, must inevitably lead to the total abolition of the slave-trade.

The African cause was materially assisted by Captain J. S. Smith, of the Royal Navy, who came forward to corroborate the statements of Mr. Ramsay, when his character and reputation were attacked, and his statements denied. This circumstance induced Captain Smith to stand forth in a noble cause, and in behalf of an injured character. He wrote to his friend, Mr. Hill, and gave him permission to publish his letter, fully confirming the facts stated by Mr. Ramsay, of which Captain Smith had also been an eye-witness, but which had been so boldly denied.

These were the persons who, in a greater or less degree, maintained and diffused just and liberal sentiments on the subject of slavery, by which, in some instances, their own conduct was regulated;

in others, where they had no personal interest in the concern, their sentiments proved influential on those who had, and gradually prepared the way for actual and combined effort, in which some of the parties now introduced to the reader took a distinguished and efficient part.

SECT. XVI.—STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM OF NEGROES IN ENGLAND.

It has been a general observation, that the greatest darkness immediately precedes sun-rise, and the excessive aboundings of misery and oppression are generally the precursors of relief and deliverance. It was so in the case of the oppressed Israelites in Egypt, and it was so in that of the oppressed Africans. It had been a common practice with planters, merchants, and others, resident in the West Indies, when they occasionally came to England, to bring with them negro slaves to act as servants during their stay. It was perfectly natural that persons thus circumstanced should compare their own condition of slavery and hardship with the freedom and comfort enjoyed by servants in England. Such a comparison would, of course, make them very unwilling to return to the islands, and in consequence many of them absconded. The masters advertised, or otherwise searched for them, and, when found, they were seized and carried away by force.

There was a notion prevalent, that such proceedings were not sanctioned by the English laws, but that all persons who were baptized became free. The former idea was, after a long struggle,

established: no English law did sanction the bringing of slaves into England; but the latter idea was unfounded: British liberty belongs to men as men, not as professing christians. However, while that sentiment prevailed, the negroes were anxious, as soon as they arrived in England, to obtain baptism, and, if possible, got such persons as godfathers, or witnesses of their baptism, as were likely to plead their cause, maintain their freedom, and resist any forcible attempt to send them out of the kingdom. As this resistance increased, the planters and others were greatly perplexed, being unwilling to lose their slaves, and afraid to run the risk of either taking them away by force, or appealing to a public tribunal for a decision. They applied to the Attorney and Solicitor-General for the time being, and obtained their opinion, that a slave coming from the West Indies to Great Britain or Ireland, either with or without his master, did not become free, nor could baptism bestow freedom upon him, or in any way affect his temporal condition or his master's *right*.* They also concluded that a master might legally compel his slave to return to the plantations. This was in the year 1729. The planters and merchants, emboldened by this decision, of course made it as public as possible, and adopted every means to render it effectual. The London papers abounded with advertisements of slaves who had absconded, with descriptions of their persons, and rewards offered for their apprehension; and sometimes they were advertised for sale by auction, either by themselves, or together with horses,

* True enough, because the master never had a right.

carriages, and harness. So totally unprotected were they, that persons wholly unconnected decoyed or seized them in the streets, and sold them to captains of West India ships. Thus was England for a time disgraced as the seat both of slavery and a slave-trade! It may just be remarked here, that there is nothing so barbarous and atrocious, but that human nature may be familiarized to it by habit and opportunity. It was indignantly denied by the advocates of slavery that negroes were kidnapped in Africa; but when human beings were a marketable commodity, they were kidnapped even in England. Another plea was, that the black-skinned negro was of an inferior race, upon the level with brutes; and that to enslave him, was not to enslave a *man*. But when kidnapping was found to be a profitable trade, those who engaged in it scrupled not at the colour of skin, but often seized children or unwary persons of European birth and complexion, and consigned them to the same slavery as the negroes. In the family of the writer of these pages, a boy of nine or ten years old was thus stolen and conveyed to Virginia, where for many years he worked as a slave, without the means of informing his distressed family of his condition; nor was this an uncommon case in those days.

In the year 1765, an African slave, named Jonathan Strong, was brought from Barbadoes by his master, who treated him very cruelly, particularly by beating his head with a pistol, which occasioned the head to swell, and afterwards produced a disorder in the eyes, and threatened blindness. To this an ague and fever succeeded, and lameness in both his legs. In this deplorable condition he was

turned adrift by his cruel master. The poor destitute creature was happily directed to Mr. William Sharp, a humane and benevolent surgeon, who devoted a portion of his time to gratuitous attention on the diseased poor.

In process of time he was cured; but while attending on his medical benefactor, he was introduced to one who was to become the instrument of imparting a yet more valuable and extended benefit. Mr. Granville Sharp, (see p. 193,) was brother to Mr. Sharp, the surgeon; and becoming interested in the case of Strong, he supplied his wants, and on his recovery got him a situation in the family of an apothecary, to carry out medicines. While thus employed, his old master happened to see him, and observing that he now appeared healthy and robust, determined to repossess him. Accordingly, having found out his residence, he employed two men to kidnap him; one of them was keeper of the Poultry Compter, (a prison so called), and the other an officer under the Lord Mayor, but neither had any legal warrant for what they were doing. They sent for him, under some false pretext, to a public house, where they seized him and conveyed him to the Poultry Compter, and there he was sold by his master for thirty pounds. In this distress Strong sent to those who had been his godfathers, and entreated their protection. They went to the prison, but were refused admittance. He then sent to Mr. Granville Sharp, who also went, but was refused access to the prisoner. He, however, insisted on seeing him, and charged the keeper of the prison at his peril to deliver him up, until he had been carried before a magistrate. Mr. Sharp also waited

on the Lord Mayor, and obtained from him an appointment to hear the case. At the time appointed Mr. Sharp attended, also a notary-public, and the captain of a ship which was to have conveyed him to Jamaica. These were on behalf of the purchaser. After a long discussion, in which the opinion of the lawyers above-mentioned was pleaded in favour of the detention of Strong, Mr. Sharp made some observations on the case, by which the lawyers present were staggered, but on the whole seemed rather disposed to retain the prisoner; but the Lord Mayor discharged him, on account of his having been taken up without a warrant. But no sooner was the poor African thus discharged, than the captain laid hold on him, and said aloud, "Then I seize you as my slave." On this Mr. Sharp promptly laid his hand on the shoulder of the captain, and said to him, "I charge you, in the name of the king, with an assault upon the person of Jonathan Strong, and all these are my witnesses." At this charge, made in presence of the Lord Mayor and others, the captain was greatly intimidated, and, fearing a prosecution, let go his prisoner, who departed under the protection of Mr. Sharp.

This interesting case awakened the inquiries of Mr. Sharp to ascertain the law of the land on the subject. He applied to many lawyers for their opinions, among others, to the celebrated Judge Blackstone, but could not obtain satisfaction. In fact, the opinion already alluded to (p. 207) had been made so extensively known, and so widely acted upon, and was considered of such high authority, that few persons dared think for themselves, so far as to question its correctness. Of

that few Mr. Sharp was one, and finding that he was not likely to gain satisfactory information from others, he determined to rely on his own industry, and devote two or three years to the study of the English law, that he might be the better qualified to advocate the cause of the miserable people whose case had so powerfully excited his compassion. This was indeed an heroic sacrifice, and in due time it met its reward.

In 1769 Mr. Sharp published the result of his inquiries, in "A Representation of the Injustice and dangerous Tendency of tolerating Slavery in England." In this work he clearly refuted the long established opinion, producing against the decision of Lord Chief Justice Holt, many years before, that a slave on coming to England became free. He also refuted it from the ancient law of villeinage in England, and by the axiom of the British constitution "That every man in England is free to sue for and defend his rights, and that force cannot be used without a legal process." This valuable book was widely distributed, especially among the lawyers; thus awakening inquiry and extending knowledge on the subject, and affording an opportunity of acknowledging or of refuting the doctrines it contained.

While this work was in progress, other cases occurred of putting the law of the subject to a practical test. An African slave, named Hylas, prosecuted a person for having kidnapped his wife and sent her to the West Indies. The result of the trial was, that the offender was compelled to bring back the woman to her husband within a given time. In 1770, Thomas Lewis, an African, was seized by two watermen, in a dark night, and

dragged to a boat lying in the Thames. There he was gagged, tied with a cord, and conveyed to a ship bound for Jamaica, where he was to be sold as a slave. This base action took place near the garden of a humane lady, (Mrs. Banks, mother of Sir Joseph Banks, the celebrated traveller and naturalist.) Her servants, hearing the cries of the unfortunate man, hastened to his assistance, but the boat was gone. On informing their mistress of the circumstance, she sent for Mr. Sharp, who by this time was generally known as the friend of the helpless Africans, and putting the cause into his hands, declared her willingness to bear the expense of bringing the delinquents to justice. With great difficulty Mr. Sharp obtained legal authority for bringing back Lewis from Gravesend, just as the vessel was on the point of sailing. An action was then commenced against the person who had employed the two watermen, who defended it on the plea that Lewis was his slave, and as such his property. It was decided that our law admits of no such property. It would be impossible to detail the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Sharp, or the number of victims he rescued from the holds of vessels, and other places of confinement and concealment, some when they were just on the point of sailing, and when an hour or two would have borne them for ever from the shores of liberty. Still, however, the mind of the good man was not at rest. It was not enough for him, that many individual instances of rescue occurred. He was anxious to have the question settled on the broad ground, "Whether a slave, by coming into England, became free?" An opportunity soon occurred of trying this great question. James So-

merset, an African slave, was brought to England by his master in 1769; some time afterwards he left his master, who took an opportunity of seizing him, and conveyed him on board a ship to be taken to Jamaica as a slave. In order to give time and opportunity fully to ascertain the law of the case, it was argued at three different sittings, in January, February, and May, 1772, and the opinion of the judges was taken upon the pleadings. The great and glorious result of the trial was, "THAT AS SOON AS ANY SLAVE SET HIS FOOT UPON ENGLISH TERRITORY HE BECAME FREE."* What a triumph for the benevolent Sharp and other friends, who began to rally round the standard of humanity! The counsellors who pleaded this cause were Davy, Glynn, Hargrave, Mansfield, and Alleyne; and they deserve to be enrolled in the list of benefactors to the great cause, for by their arguments and eloquence, multitudes were enlightened and interested; but by the labours of Sharp *they* were instructed and benefited, and he must be regarded as the chief instrument in achieving this noble triumph. He too was but an instrument, Divine Providence was the agent; and Sharp was among the first to say,

* This decision is alluded to in those beautiful lines of Cowper, in the Task.

"Slaves cannot breathe in England: if their lungs
Imbibe our air, that moment they are free.
They touch our country, and their shackles fall.
That's noble, and bespeaks a nation proud
And jealous of the blessing. Spread it then,
And let it circulate through every vein
Of all your empire. That where Britain's power
Is felt, mankind may feel her mercy too."

Happily, this apostrophe is now realized.

"Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory, for thy mercy and for thy truth's sake."

From this time the poor African ceased to be hunted in our streets as a beast of prey; and our papers were no longer polluted with advertisements for the apprehension of men, whose only offence had been that of using their native right, and quitting the service of oppression; or for the sale of man as the property of his fellow-man.

SECT. XVII.—PRELIMINARY STEPS TOWARDS THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

It is interesting to observe, that, in any pursuit, persons usually advance much further than they originally proposed. In the career of wickedness and cruelty, men perpetrate deeds of which they would formerly have said with indignation, "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do these things?" is peculiarly applicable to the slave-trader and slave-owner. In the cause of humanity and benevolence, advances equally unanticipated are made. When Sharp had established the right of the negro to freedom on British ground, he did not rest there, though that probably was all he at first contemplated. Immediately after the decision in the case of Somerset, Mr. Sharp felt it his duty to write to Lord North, then prime minister, warning him, in the most earnest manner, to abolish immediately both the trade and the slavery of the human species in the British dominions, as utterly irreconcileable with the principles of the British constitution, as well as of the christian religion. When great works are to be effected, the hand of

Providence is strikingly displayed in the simultaneous movement of persons and circumstances, which have no visible connexion with each other, but which remarkably concur to bring about the object. The period of history at which we have now arrived, was distinguished by three features: First, active efforts succeeded to the mere exertion of influence and argument. Many attempts had been made, both in America and England, to prove the evils of slavery, and to induce persons to follow the dictates of justice and humanity, by liberating their slaves—and many slaves had been so liberated; but as far as we know, the exertions of Granville Sharp were the first directed to the object of compelling persons to relinquish their illegal hold of slaves. Secondly, this period was distinguished by a disposition manifested in different parts to bring the subject before legislative bodies. And, thirdly, by a social disposition, those who had acted in an individual capacity, or at least had confined their exertions to a very small circle, were now disposed to unite in societies, with all in different circles, denominations, and countries who had the same great end in view; and thus, as by the union of many streams, narrow and trivial in themselves, a confluence was formed, which gradually became powerful enough to bear down the mounds of oppression and slavery.

While Granville Sharp was labouring for the decision of the great question in England, the burgesses of Virginia, then under the dominion of the British government, were presenting a petition to the king, beseeching him to enact such laws as might check that inhuman and impolitic traffic, —the slave trade; and it is remarkable that the

refusal of the British government to permit the Virginians to exclude slaves from among them, by law, was afterwards mentioned among the reasons for separating from the mother country.

The Quakers had long endeavoured to diffuse, among their own people only, just sentiments on the subject, but now they were found forming themselves into societies with persons of all other denominations, and co-operating with them in the promotion of the general design, especially in petitions to the legislature. On occasion of a bill brought into the House of Commons for certain regulations in the African trade, the Society of Friends addressed a petition, stating that they felt it a religious duty to lay before parliament the suffering condition of the enslaved negroes, as a subject loudly calling for the humane interposition of the legislature. They expressed their regret that a nation, professing christianity, should so far counteract the principles of humanity and justice, as by their cruel treatment of that oppressed race, to fill their minds with prejudices against the mild and beneficent doctrines of the gospel. They stated that, under the countenance of the laws of this country many thousands of our fellow-creatures, entitled to the natural rights of mankind, were held as personal property in cruel bondage; and petitioned that not only the African Company might be restrained from exporting negroes, but that the restriction might be universally extended, and thus a stop be put to a traffic characterized by rapine, oppression, and bloodshed.

This petition was presented by Sir Cecil Wray, who spoke very respectfully of the society, and declared his hearty approbation of their petition,

and his hope to see the day when not a slave should remain within the dominions of this realm. Lord North seconded the motion, and concurred in the petition, as that which commended itself to every humane breast. This was the first petition ever presented for the abolition of the slave-trade. About the same time Anthony Benezet sent his letter to the Queen, (see p. 186), which was graciously received. The Society of Friends also published "The Case of the Africans, respectfully addressed to the Legislature of Great Britain, by the People called Quakers." This exposure of the horrors of slavery they presented to the King, the Queen, the Prince of Wales, all the cabinet ministers, and every member of both houses of parliament. The year following they received Benezet's Warning, &c. (see p. 184), which they immediately distributed among public bodies, clergymen and dissenting ministers of all denominations, justices of the peace, and particularly among the great schools of the kingdom, in the hope of imbuing the rising youth with a knowledge and detestation of this cruel traffic. The schools of Westminster, Charter-house, St. Paul's, Merchant Tailors', Eton, Winchester, and Harrow, with many private academies, were visited by a deputation from the society to present the book. Who shall say how many of the friends of humanity, who have at length carried the great cause triumphantly through both houses of parliament, derived from these communications their first thoughts and impressions on the subject? or who can estimate the quantity of good or evil resulting from the admission of one good or bad book into a seminary of education?

Hitherto, when "the Society" has been spoken of, it referred to the Friends as a religious body; they had not hitherto formed themselves into a society for the specific object of promoting the abolition, but perceiving that the temper of the times was ripening towards that happy object, they resolved to unite themselves as labourers for its furtherance. The little band consisted, at first, of William Dillwyn (see p. 192), George Harrison, Samuel Hoare, Thos. Knowles, M.D., John Lloyd, and Joseph Woods. Their first meeting was held July 7th, 1783, when they stated its object to be, "a consideration of the steps to be taken for the liberation of negro slaves in the West Indies, and for the discouragement of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa."

The mode they pursued was that of enlightening the public mind. The members engaged themselves to collect such extracts, either in prose or verse, as were suitable and striking, and occasionally to write original articles, and procure their insertion in the public newspapers. In the course of the first year they had gained access to two London, and seven or eight provincial papers, in different and distant parts of the kingdom. Afterwards they began to print and distribute books at the expense of the association. The first was composed by Joseph Woods, one of the committee, and entitled, "Thoughts on the Slavery of the Negroes." It was a judicious and well-timed publication, and proved highly useful. The next was a sermon by Dr. Porteus, Bishop of London (see p. 202). The committee, having heard of this sermon, deputed Mr. Hoare (one of their number) to obtain permission to publish it. This

led to a correspondence with Mr. Ramsay (p. 203), through whose medium the bishop's consent was obtained. It was probably in consequence of these exertions, that coadjutors in a different line first came forward. In 1785, the first petition was addressed to parliament for the abolition of the slave-trade. This was from the town of Bridgewater, in Somersetshire, and drawn up at the suggestion of the Rev. George White, a clergyman, and Mr. John Chubb, forwarded by Mr. William Tucket, mayor of that town, and presented to parliament by the Hon. Ann Poulet and Alex. Hood, Esq., afterwards Lord Bridport, members for the town. The reader will be gratified by the insertion of this petition, not only for the just and noble sentiments it breathes, but also as being the *first* ever presented on this subject.

"The humble petition of the inhabitants of Bridgewater showeth,

"That your petitioners, reflecting with the deepest sensibility on the deplorable condition of that part of the human species, the African negroes, who, by the most flagitious means, are reduced to slavery and misery in the British colonies, beg leave to address this honourable house in their behalf, and to express a just abhorrence of a system of oppression, which no prospect of private gain, no consideration of public advantage, no plea of political expediency, can sufficiently justify or excuse.

"That, satisfied as your petitioners are that this inhuman system meets with the general execration of mankind, they flatter themselves that the day is not far distant when it will be universally abolished;

and they most ardently hope to see a British parliament, by the extinction of that sanguinary traffic, extend the blessings of liberty to millions beyond this realm, hold up to an enlightened world a glorious and merciful example, and stand foremost in the defence of the violated rights of human nature."

This petition was read, and ordered to lie on the table; but the gentlemen who presented it informed their constituents that "there did not appear the least disposition to pay any further attention to it. Every one, almost, says that the abolition of the slave-trade must throw the West Indian islands into convulsions, and soon complete their utter ruin. Thus, they will not trust Providence for its protection in so pious an undertaking."

These gloomy forebodings and cold-hearted calculations would afford matter for a smile, if we could forget the apathy and selfishness which they involved, and the injustice and cruelty which they tolerated.

Among the accessions to the little society was David Barclay (grandson to Barclay, who wrote an Apology for the Quakers). Having assisted at one of their meetings, and warmly pleaded the duty of christians to free themselves from the sin of enslaving their fellow-men, he was, a few years afterwards, very unexpectedly called to prove the sincerity and strength of his principles; for he and a brother, in consequence of a large debt due to them, became the proprietors of an estate in Jamaica, on which there were thirty-two slaves. These they generously and nobly emancipated, to the satisfaction of their own minds, to the honour of their character, to the benefit of the public, and to the

happiness of the objects of their benevolence, whose conduct, respectability, and comfort, proved an additional reward to their benefactors, for the sacrifice they had made of interest to principle. Such conduct, like general consistency in professors of religion, is an argument that infidelity itself cannot withstand; it lives, moves, acts, and wears down opposition.

We come now to the second class of worthies, those who distinguished themselves in the arduous struggle for the abolition of the slave-trade.

Dr. Peckard, Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and Vice-chancellor of that university, had early distinguished himself as a warm friend to civil and religious liberty. In a sermon before the university, he bore a solemn testimony against the slave-trade, as involving an aggravated degree of individual and national guilt, which must be expected to draw down the heaviest judgments of a righteous God, who had made of one blood all the sons of men, and had given to all an equal right to liberty. In 1785 it officially devolved on Dr. P. to appoint to the bachelors of arts in the university the subject for two prize essays. He took the opportunity of exciting inquiry and discussion on his favourite subject, and gave the theme, "Is it right to make slaves of others against their will?" This suggestion proved the occasion of calling out one of the most zealous, indefatigable, and successful labourers in the cause—one of the very few with whom originated direct and systematic efforts for the abolition of the slave-trade, who lived to witness the yet more brilliant day of the abolition of slavery. Who, that knows any thing of the great conflict between

righteousness and oppression that has agitated nearly the last half century, but anticipates the announcement of THOMAS CLARKSON?

At the time in question, Thomas Clarkson was of that standing and degree in the university that entitled him to compete for the prize; and having already gained one the preceding year, it was expected that he should do so, otherwise he would have been considered as declining from the honours already attained. Stimulated at first by youthful ambition for the attainment of literary distinction, the student applied himself to the acquisition of knowledge on the subject prescribed, which at that time was wholly new to him. Only a few weeks were allowed for the composition. He determined, however, to make the best use of his time, and of those sources of information to which he had access. Still he felt himself at a loss for materials, and probably almost despaired of obtaining all that was needful for the successful prosecution of his task, when he happened to meet with a newspaper advertisement of Benezet's Historical Account of Guinea. Intent on the completion of his object, he could not rest satisfied with the uncertainty and delay of ordering the volume of a bookseller, but himself hastened to London to procure it; and his labour was not in vain. In this precious book he found almost all he wanted; not merely the author's own observations and statements, but references for authority to several other writers, especially Adamson, Moore, Smith, Barbot, and Bosman. Each of these persons had been long resident in Africa, or had frequently visited it; their opportunities of obtaining knowledge were unquestionable, and, having been concerned in the trade, it was

not likely that they would exaggerate statements which would criminate themselves. Besides, they had written at a time when the abolition had not even been thought of; they could, therefore, have no idea of either advancing or retarding that measure, and, having been dead many years, their statements must be regarded as impartial, with reference to the modern state of opinion; they had no interest to serve, no friend to conciliate, either among the supporters or the opposers of the abolition.

Furnished with these important documents, the young aspirant commenced his work; but, instead of finding his mind at liberty to invent, pursue, and arrange arguments, as on an indifferent question, and in an honourable contest for literary superiority, he was overwhelmed with gloom and distress at the melancholy facts continually starting to his view. Days of anguish, and nights of restlessness, were the result of his researches, which, however, he still pursued; but the prize which stimulated him, was exchanged from academical honours, to the hope of being in some way useful to the oppressed. So thoroughly intent was he on the subject, that he constantly kept a light burning in his room, in order that, if any valuable thought suggested itself to his mind, he might rise from his bed and preserve it, lest even a single argument of importance should escape from his mind, and be lost to the great cause. The essay, when complete, was forwarded to the Vice-chancellor, and obtained the reward of merit. The first prize was adjudged to it.

After having, according to custom, read his essay in the Senate-house at Cambridge, Mr. Clarkson returned to London, his mind still

engrossed, and his feelings overwhelmed with the subject. Fain would he have persuaded himself that the statements in his own essay could not be true: the more, however, he reflected on the authorities on which they were founded, the more he was constrained to give them credit. Coming in sight of Wadesmill, in Hertfordshire—for ever consecrated be the spot, as the birth-place of a noble project!—he dismounted from his horse, and sat down disconsolate on the turf by the road-side, holding his horse and pursuing his reflections. Surely it is not an irreverent application of scripture to say, "While he was musing the fire burned." A thought came into his mind, suggested, we cannot doubt, by Him, "from whom all holy desires, all just counsels, and all good works do proceed." *If the contents of the Essay are true, it is time that some person should see these calamities to their end.*

Thus impressed and agitated in mind, he reached his home in London. This was in the summer of 1785. During the ensuing months he was frequently the subject of similar impressions. The question would perpetually recur to his mind, "Are these things true?" The answer instantaneously and decidedly followed, "They are," and the result still accompanied it, "Then surely some person should interfere." He began to envy people of wealth, influence, and authority; those who had seats in parliament, or who shared in the government of the nation. But his benevolent impulse was of too genuine a kind to waste itself in fruitless wishes after unattainable means. Instead of long sighing, "Oh that I were in such and such circumstances, what great things would

I perform!" he set himself to consider, "In the circumstances in which *I am* placed, what is there that I can attempt?" Dear young people, learn from the example of Clarkson, and the ultimate success with which Heaven crowned his efforts; when you see human wretchedness, ignorance, and vice, content not yourselves with unavailing tears, or splendid but unattainable projects of what might be done, if you possessed the five or the ten talents of your neighbour, but humbly and diligently set yourself about employing and improving the two or the one with which Providence has endowed you, and you will assuredly find that ability increases with exertion, and that the blessing of God is connected with the conscientious use of a little, and can render that eminently successful. The greatest benefactors of mankind have been those who faithfully employed their own talents, and filled their own sphere, leaving it to Infinite Wisdom to assign its limits.

With genuine humility, when Clarkson thought of himself, he shrunk at the idea of his own insufficiency. Was it possible, he thought, that a young man of only twenty-four years of age could have such solid judgment and knowledge of men, manners, and things, as were requisite to qualify him to undertake a task of such magnitude and importance? And with whom could he unite, or how obtain their co-operation? One thing at least was practicable, and that he immediately resolved upon. He could translate his Latin Essay into English, and enlarge it with such matter as would be calculated to inform and interest the public. He could see how this was received, and on the result ground any future and

more serious measures to produce the abolition of the slave-trade.

By the commencement of the following year he had made considerable progress in the work, and wished to engage with some bookseller to publish it. He consulted one of the most eminent of his day, and was encouraged to expect, for an essay which had gained a university prize, a respectable circulation among persons of taste. But that was not what he wanted. He wished it to be widely circulated among practical common-sense people, who would not only commend the Essay, but think, and feel, and act with the author. Accordingly, he resolved on trying in another quarter, and going past the Royal Exchange, met Mr. Joseph Hancock, one of the Society of Quakers, between whose family and that of Clarkson an intimate friendship had long subsisted. It is surprising on how small a pivot turn events of the greatest importance. Whether these two individuals should pursue their different ways along one street or another, and whether either should start half an hour later or earlier, might seem of very little consequence, but these seemingly trivial coincidences are often made subservient to very important and beneficial results. Clarkson was going to seek advice as to the publication of his essay, when his friend Hancock met him, and inquired why he had not published it; stating that his own society had long, as a religious body, taken up the question, and that some individuals among them were wishing to find him out. What a relief to his anxious mind! He had considered, with whom am I to unite? How can I engage co-operation? And here he found that kindred minds were

awakened to similar feelings and inquiries; and that their attention was directed to him as an agent in the cause of benevolence.

The person to whom Mr. Hancock immediately introduced his friend was Mr. James Phillips, a bookseller, by whose conversation he was so much interested and encouraged, that, without further hesitation, he offered him the publication of his work; thus was his immediate anxiety at once relieved, and his more general views promoted, as the circumstances of this interview led to the knowledge of several persons who became most important coadjutors in the cause. Shortly afterwards Clarkson was introduced to William Dillwyn, (see p. 192,) from whom he gathered many important facts, from his personal local knowledge both of the slave-trade and slavery, as existing in the United States of America. From him also he first heard with astonishment of the labours of Granville Sharp, (see p. 193) of the writings of Ramsay, (p. 203,) and of the formation of societies, both in England and America, expressly for the purpose of enlightening the public mind on the great subject; of the former of which Dillwyn was a leading member, and intimately acquainted with the principal persons in the latter.

His mind was overwhelmed with joy and wonder; he could not but discern the finger of Providence; and justly indulged the hope that the day-star of African liberty was rising, and that he might be permitted to become an humble instrument in promoting it. Happy man! whose benevolent anticipations have been realised, and whose name will be held dear to unborn posterity as a highly honoured instrument—humble indeed—for Gabriel

would have felt himself unspeakably honoured to be employed—in effecting such a work as the liberation of Africa. An intimate friendship was soon established with fellow-labourers in the glorious cause, Granville Sharp, Ramsay, Richard Phillips, and others, whose sympathy and co-operation were invaluable. In June, 1786, the Essay was published in English, and taking this by way of introduction to the subject, the author diligently employed himself in obtaining as many coadjutors as possible in the great cause.

Among his early and influential friends was Mr. Bemet Langton, a gentleman of family, fortune, learning, general worth, and extensive connexions. Most of the men of his day, celebrated for literature or benevolence, were found in the circle of his friends; among others, Dr. Samuel Johnson, Jonas Hanway, the philanthropist, Edmund Burke, the statesman, and Sir Joshua Reynolds, the painter; all of whom, in some way or other, expressed themselves friendly to the abolition of slavery. Mr. Langton was also well received at the court of George III., with whom he frequently conversed; and he had numerous friends in both houses of parliament. On reading Clarkson's Essay his mind was much impressed, both with a sense of the sufferings of the injured Africans, and the crimes of their oppressors; and though he was not at first sanguine in his hopes of success, considering the vast numbers who were interested in keeping up the trade, he engaged to do his utmost in promoting a public inquiry into the subject; and he continued through life a zealous and active coadjutor in the cause.

Dr. Baker, a clergyman of the church of Eng-

land, in a part of the metropolis chiefly inhabited by persons of rank and fortune, and whose diligent and faithful labours gave him great weight and influence among them, on reading the essay, engaged, from a sense of duty, to become in any practicable way an instrument in exposing to the world such a complication of guilt and misery. The exertions of this gentleman among his numerous congregation were highly important in raising up friends to the cause of the negro.

The author having presented his work to Lord and Lady Scarsdale, they read it with deep attention and interest, and became desirous of assisting in so good a cause. Lord Scarsdale promised it his support, if ever it came before the house of lords, and his lady engaged to use her influence in the private circle, although at the hazard of offending near and dear friends, who had interests in the West Indies.

While thus exerting himself in engaging friends to the cause, Clarkson visited Ramsay, (see p. 203,) at Teston, in Kent. These kindred spirits took sweet counsel together, and encouraged each other in their benevolent pursuit, by considerations that the work in which they were engaged was evidently in conformity with the views of Providence; and that, by turning the public attention to the subject, they might become the instruments of carrying it on. Impressed as an eye-witness of the cruelties practised on Africans, Ramsay had long had their cause at heart; and having communicated his feelings to Sir Charles and Lady Middleton, (afterwards Lord and Lady Barham,) had been urged by them to undertake his work on behalf of the slaves. He had accordingly begun

it, but somewhat discouraged by foreseeing the censure and abuse in which such a subject would needs involve the author from interested persons, he had desisted. He had, however, afterwards resumed it, at the entreaty of Dr. Porteus. Thus was Clarkson encouraged by the accession of these influential friends, on whose support in the good cause he justly calculated. He was immediately introduced to Sir Charles and Lady Middleton, and in conversation with them, in the fulness of his feelings, he declared that he was willing to devote himself to the cause of the oppressed Africans. This pledge he afterwards seriously considered, together with the magnitude of the undertaking, his own insufficient information on the subject, the small number of those on whose support and concurrence he could rely,* the need of considerable pecuniary funds to support the undertaking, the relinquishment of all his previous views and prospects in life, for he felt that it would require the entire consecration of his time, talents, and energies; and he considered, Am I prepared to make the sacrifice? and is there sufficient prospect of success to warrant it? The result of his deliberations confirmed the pledge of his ardour. He concluded that there had never been a cause more important; never one in which so much human misery was heard to cry for redress;

* As yet they only amounted to those names already mentioned in connexion with his own, viz. two in the House of Lords, Dr. Porteus and Lord Scarsdale; one in the House of Commons, Sir C. Middleton; Dr. Baker and Mr. Langton, whose influence was most important; Dillwyn and Ramsay, invaluable for local knowledge and immediate testimony; Granville Sharp and the two Phillips', for tried zeal and ardour in the cause; and the Quakers, as a religious body.

never one in which so much good might be done, or in which the duty of christian charity could be so extensively exercised; never one more worthy of the devotion of a whole life towards it; and that if a man thought properly, he ought to rejoice to have been called into existence, if he were only permitted to become an instrument in forwarding any part of its progress. Animated by these just and noble sentiments, he resolved on every sacrifice of personal interest and prospect required, and from a sense of duty, rather than a prospect of success, to devote himself to the work. From the moment of this decided resolution, he had more elevated and happy feelings than at any former period of his life.

The work then to which he devoted himself was to collect and diffuse authentic information on the subject of slavery, and especially the slave-trade; to excite public feeling and the expression of that feeling; and especially to induce members of parliament to bring forward and support the cause of the injured Africans in the houses of legislature. He almost immediately left Teston, and returned to London to commence his operations; Sir Charles Middleton, as comptroller of the navy, having offered him free access to his office to examine and make extracts from naval journals or other papers, which might throw a light on the traffic with Africa.

Before we take leave of Teston, we may introduce a distinguished literary female, who through a long life was the zealous and efficient friend of the negroes. This was no other than the justly celebrated Hannah More, who about this time was visiting Teston Park, and who thus incidentally

and familiarly describes the amiable Lady Middleton. "Lady M. is made up of feeling and compassion; her kindness, which you would think must needs be exhausted on negroes, extends to the sufferings of every animal; she never worked the woe of any living thing." From the life and correspondence of this excellent lady, (H. More,) recently published, we glean frequent expressions of her own ardent good will to the cause, and interesting allusions to the sentiments of her friends on the subject, as well as some touching and illustrative anecdotes.

On his return to London, Clarkson communicated his resolution to the little band already enlisted in the cause. He received from them every encouragement to expect support and success, and was introduced to others who proved equally zealous, especially Mr. Joseph Gurney Bevan and Mr. Samuel Hoare, who, together with Granville Sharp and others, had formed a committee for the black poor in London, and were sending them, under the auspices of government, to form a free settlement at Sierra Leone, in Africa. Repeated meetings took place. It was agreed that all the remaining copies of the Essay on Slavery should be gratuitously distributed, chiefly among members of parliament; that the author should personally wait on many of these gentlemen, and that he should be continually endeavouring to extend his own knowledge, that he might be enabled to answer the various objections with which the cause would be assailed. At one of these meetings, Mr. Joseph Gurney Bevan very justly and honourably appealed to the gentlemen present, that the generous and disinterested author, who was devoting his

whole time and energies to the cause, ought at least to be secured from loss in the distribution of his book. This suggestion was readily acceded to, and the books were immediately purchased by subscription, and placed at his disposal for distribution. Yet, that his feelings might not be wounded by the idea of any supposed gain in the transaction, no more than the cost price was paid. It now became his task, from day to day, to distribute and engage friends in distributing the work; in this, each of the friends already named, and several new ones, lent themselves as cheerful and zealous coadjutors in the cause, either as conveying the book, or introducing the author to members of parliament and other influential persons.

Dr. Porteus, late Bishop of Chester, was now made Bishop of London. On this, his intimate friend, Miss Hannah More, thus wrote—"I am sure you rejoiced with me on the removal of our excellent friend to the see of London. I rejoice for many reasons, but for none more than that his ecclesiastical jurisdiction extending to the West Indies will make him of infinite usefulness in the great project I have so much at heart—the project of abolishing the slave-trade in Africa. This most important cause has very much occupied my thoughts this summer. The young gentleman, who has embarked in it with the zeal of an apostle, has been much with me, and engaged all my little interest and all my affections in it. It is to be brought before parliament in the spring. Above one hundred members have promised their votes. My dear friend, be sure to canvas

everybody who has a heart. It is a subject too ample for a letter, and I shall have a great deal to say to you when we meet. To my feelings it is the most interesting subject that ever was discussed in the annals of humanity."

This letter somewhat anticipates the narrative, but is inserted here on account of its connexion with the removal of Dr. Porteus to the see of London.

The knowledge which Clarkson hitherto possessed had been principally acquired by reading. He now felt anxious to obtain information on the subject from the testimony of persons who were engaged in it. With this view he visited vessels on the Thames, accustomed to trade to Africa; from these he procured specimens of the natural productions of the country, and also of manufactured goods. The richness and excellence of the former convinced him that the land contained abundant resources for the supply of its inhabitants, and also for carrying on a profitable commerce; and the skill and ingenuity manifested in the latter, at once refuted the base pretext of those who justified their conduct by condemning the African to slavery, as on a level with the brute creation. These agreeable discoveries encouraged and animated him in the midst of his labours, to hope that success would result, and the injured African would be replaced on a level with the rest of his species. His next visit was of an equally stimulating, but of an incomparably less agreeable nature—it was to a SLAVE-VESSEL. The sight of this horrible receptacle of human misery filled him with melancholy and indignation. The rooms

below, the grating above, the barricado across, and the explanation of their uses, so distressed him, that he could not endure to go over them leisurely, but hurried away to sigh in secret over the cruelty and the misery of man. Clarkson, however, was not one of the sort to substitute feeling for action, or to turn away sickened at the sight of an object of wretchedness, when he ought to attempt to relieve it. No, at whatever sacrifice of personal feeling, he took every opportunity of gaining knowledge and applying it to practical purposes.

He was now continually on the watch to fall in with persons who had been to Africa, especially such as had not been interested, or were not now interested, in the slave-trade. Among those to whom he early gained access, and from whom he derived important information, he mentions General Rooke and Lieut. Dalrymple of the army; Captain Fiddes, of the engineers; Mr. Nisbett, a surgeon; Mr. Devaynes, who was then in parliament, and the Rev. Mr. Newton, an eminent clergyman, who had formerly been engaged in the slave-trade, and had himself been in slavery among the Moors.

After every conversation, Mr. Clarkson accustomed himself to preserve the particulars in writing; thus things gradually unfolded themselves to him, and he found his stock of knowledge daily on the increase.

In visiting members of parliament, though many professed themselves friendly, Mr. C. remarked that this arose rather from the momentary impulse of a feeling heart, while listening to his statements,

than from any settled knowledge and habitual conviction of the evils of the slave-trade. Hence he could not greatly rely on their support; but there were two classes of persons of whom he justly formed a higher opinion—those whose minds had been already directed to the subject; and those who were disposed to question the truth of his statements, but, on a candid inquiry, being convinced of their truth, espoused the cause on conviction. Of the first class was Sir Richard Hill, (brother of the late venerable Rowland Hill,) who decidedly embraced the cause at the first interview; and of the latter was Mr. Powys, afterwards Lord Lilford, who doubted some of the facts mentioned in Mr. Clarkson's book, from a belief that human nature was not capable of rising to such a pitch of wickedness. In particular he questioned the statement that 132 slaves had been thrown alive into the sea to defraud the underwriters (see p. 129). Mr. Clarkson immediately procured from Granville Sharp the full notes of the trial, which could not but establish the mind of the inquirer in the facts of the case; and it was readily admitted that if this were true, nothing could be related of the slave-trade so horrible as to surpass belief. In consequence Mr. Powys, from a mere general well-wisher to the cause, became an active distributer of the books.

We come now to a most important introduction. In the course of visits to members of parliament, Clarkson called on "that young gentleman," alluded to in the letter of Hannah More (see p. 233). This was no other than WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, whose subsequent life was devoted

to the cause of liberty, whose dying moments were cheered by its triumphs, and whose name will be immortalized in connexion with its history. On the first interview Mr. Wilberforce frankly stated, that the subject had often employed his thoughts, and was near his heart. Having read the book, he desired another interview with the author, and expressed a wish to be made acquainted with the authorities for the assertions made. This was done to his entire satisfaction. He, however, inquired whether these things could be corroborated by any other evidence. Mr. Clarkson then referred him to Mr. Newton, Mr. Nisbett, and several others, with all of whom he conversed, making memoranda of their conversation, which he afterwards showed to Mr. Clarkson. In allusion to this, or to some subsequent, and perhaps more public investigation, Mr. Newton thus wrote to Mrs. Hannah More:—"My account of the slave-trade has the merit of being true. I am not afraid of being solidly contradicted by any or all who are retained by interest to plead on the other side. Some of my friends wish I had said more, but I think I have said enough. Those who, admitting that my testimony is worthy of credit, are not convinced by what I have offered, would hardly be persuaded by a folio filled with particular details of misery and oppression. What may be done just now I know not, but I think this infamous traffic cannot last long, at least this is my hope. But after the period of investigation, should it still be persevered in, I think it will constitute a national sin, and of a very deep dye. I should tremble for the consequences; for, whatever politicians may think, I assuredly know there is a righteous Judge who

governs the earth. He calls upon us to redress the injured, and should we perseveringly refuse, I cannot doubt but He will plead the cause Himself."

The heart of Wilberforce was already entirely engaged in the cause. He admired the disinterested zeal of Clarkson, and desired him frequently to call and acquaint him, from time to time, with his progress, and promised all the assistance in his power in the prosecution of the important object.

It is an interesting fact, in the history of this christian statesman, that his benevolent inquiries on the subject of African oppression, as a question of humanity and politics, introduced him to the acquaintance of the Rev. John Newton, and, subsequently, to that of the Rev. Thos. Scott, (the commentator,) both of which connexions were eminently blessed in establishing and maturing his christian character.

From the deep and persevering interest with which Wilberforce pursued the subject of the slave-trade, enlarged hopes were entertained that it might soon be brought forward as a subject of parliamentary inquiry. In order to engage the attention of members of parliament to the subject, and to carry on the general design, the formation of a more regular society was contemplated, which should include all those who had long before associated themselves and laboured in the cause, with the addition of many new friends. The attention of Clarkson was at this time chiefly directed to acquiring authentic information, on which might be grounded parliamentary and general appeals. His labours were immense. He obtained access

to the Custom-House in London, where he gained much valuable information; and, in order to establish the fact of the great mortality among seamen employed in the slave-trade, he obtained copies of the muster-rolls, from the Custom-House at Liverpool, for a given time. In searching these he was assisted by his friend, Richard Phillips. They looked over them together, commencing their nightly toil at nine o'clock each evening, and pursuing it till one, two, or three o'clock in the morning. When their eyes were inflamed, or they suffered from extreme weariness, they relieved themselves by walking a few minutes in Lincoln's Inn, (where Phillips resided,) still conversing on the theme of their intense interest, and soon returned to their labours. The result of this investigation was, that more than half the seamen who went out with slave-ships never returned, and that at least one-fifth were known to have perished.

Another subject of inquiry, was the condition of the slaves in the West Indies. By authentic documents, procured from the proprietors themselves, it appeared that, where the slaves were treated with humanity and prudence, the population so greatly increased, as to supersede all necessity of fresh importations. The infrequency of these instances, and the vast depopulation on the whole of the slave colonies, affectingly implied the degree of cruelty and hardships by which the natural tendency to increase was counteracted. Every investigation tended to accumulate proof upon proof that " Providence, in ordaining laws for the agency of man, had never made that to be wise which was criminal, and that the slave-trade was as impolitic as it was unjust and inhuman."

Clarkson was now holding frequent intercourse with Mr. Wilberforce, and reporting to him the result of his inquiries. At length occasional meetings were held at the house of that gentleman, chiefly with a view of bringing together members of parliament to converse on the subject.

At the first meeting, Mr. Clarkson read an account of the result of his inquiries, with observations calculated to throw light on the general question, when objections and inquiries were started and canvassed. Great usefulness attended these meetings, in attracting the attention of some who had before been indifferent, and in establishing and expanding the views of others already well disposed.

Matters seemed to be attaining a maturity for bringing forward the question in parliament. A party was formed at the house of Mr. Langton, (see p. 228,) consisting of Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Clarkson, Sir Charles Middleton, Mr. Hawkins Browne, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Mr. Boswell. After dinner, the subject of the slave-trade was purposely introduced. Much information was elicited, and much interest excited. The party unanimously agreed in unqualified disapprobation of the odious traffic, and that no argument of policy or expediency ought to have the least weight against the claims of justice and humanity. "Rather," it was justly exclaimed, "let Liverpool* and the islands be swallowed up in the sea, than this monstrous system of iniquity be carried on." When all appeared deeply interested in the cause,

* The town of Liverpool was deeply interested in the continuance of the traffic.

the host (Mr. Langton) proposed to Mr. Wilberforce that he should bring forward the measure in parliament. To this he agreed, when he should be better prepared for the task, and provided no fitter person could be found. Immediately the long-contemplated society was formed, May 22, 1787. Its committee comprehended all the names of those who had united themselves in the cause four years before, (see p. 218,) with the exception of Dr. Knowles, who was then dying, but who, having heard of the meeting, sent them an exhortation to persevere. To these were added the names of Granville Sharpe, Thomas Clarkson, Richard Phillips, John Barton, Joseph Hooper, James Phillips, and Philip Sansom. The duties devolving on them were those of procuring and publishing evidence and information that might tend to the abolition of the slave-trade, and directing the application of funds collected for that object. With the exception of Sharp, Clarkson, and Sansom, all the members of this committee were of the Society of Quakers. It is an act of justice to that benevolent body to perpetuate its honour in standing foremost in this work of peace and love, and in setting an example which christians of other denominations were not backward to follow. The society numbered in its lists all those whose names have already been mentioned as favourable to the cause, with daily augmentations in consequence of the diffusion of knowledge on the subject; and a friendly intercourse was maintained with societies in America, having the same grand object in view.

Before we enter on the active exertions of this

newly-formed society, we may remark, that christianity has uniformly been the friend of man; wherever genuine christianity has prevailed, in whatever age, climate, or country, in whatever rank of society, with whatever advantages of literature, and under whatever peculiarity of profession in minor particulars, it has uniformly implanted the principles of reverence for the commands of God, and good-will towards men; it has lodged in the human breast that which would reprove and condemn every deviation from doing to others as we would they should do unto us; and it has also formed a delightful bond of union, by which to combine all energies in one common cause of benevolence. Perhaps Quakers and Churchmen, Methodists and Dissenters, would not have come so near together as fellow-christians, if they had not been drawn by some common centre of benevolence; but the spirit that celebrates "glory to God in the highest, on earth peace and good-will to men," is near a-kin to that which breathes, "Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity!"

We cannot help observing also, that vast results often proceed from small beginnings, and an accumulation of small efforts. The slave-trade and slavery have not been removed by one sudden and violent convulsion, like the shock of an earthquake, or the bursting of a volcano, but rather by patient persevering efforts, carried on by a long succession of labourers, like the daily removing small heaps of sand from a mountain, or like the continual dropping of water upon stone; scarcely any visible effect was produced by a single effort, but no one

good effort was ever lost, and, through them all, Hope sustained the head of Exertion until Perseverance crowned it.

One thing more ought not to be overlooked, and that is a principle well understood in our great manufactories—the division of labour. If only a needle is to be made, one person cuts the wire in lengths, another tempers it, a third works the eye, a fourth sharpens the point, a fifth polishes it; and by this means a vast number more needles are produced in a given time, than if each of these workmen began and completed the whole process. The same principle applies to great works of christian philanthropy. God has dealt to every man severally as He will of ability, property, or influence, and placed him in an appointed sphere, and with an assigned portion of labour; let each do what he can, and what he ought, and the several parts will be found to fit into one complete whole, and the greatest work will be quietly accomplished. These remarks cannot have escaped the attentive reader in passing over these pages. He will have observed, with pleasing interest, the traveller giving evidence of facts; the author enlightening the public mind; the student eliciting truth by research; the tutor imbuing the minds of youth with correct principles; the public teacher of religion urging on his congregation the principles of christianity; the plain way-faring man pleading the cause of humanity with the wealthy slave-holder; the proprietor spontaneously relinquishing his property, as an offering to justice, benevolence, and humanity; the philosopher, the moralist, the poet, the politician, and the senator, each in their several spheres, contributing to one grand result: the eye, the head, the

hand, the foot, all going to form one well compacted and efficient body, and not one despising or envying another.

SECT. XVIII.—ACTIVE MEASURES OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

ONE of the first measures adopted by the now organised society was, the publication of "A Summary View of the Slave-Trade, and the probable Consequences of its Abolition," by Clarkson; a work more suited for extensive distribution than his original and larger publication. Shortly afterwards, a splendid poem on the subject was published by Mr. Roscoe, of Liverpool, with a preface by Dr. Currie, of the same town. It was entitled, "The wrongs of Africa." The work was highly calculated to awaken kindly feelings towards the oppressed Africans, and the profits were generously presented to the committee, for the purpose of enabling them to pursue the objects of the institution. It was also peculiarly encouraging to find friends to the cause raised up in a quarter where nothing was expected but opposition.

The next important measure was that of requesting the indefatigable Clarkson to undertake a journey to Bristol, Liverpool, Lancaster, and other places, in order to obtain farther information from sources, which, there was every reason to believe, would be closed by interested men, as soon as ever it was publicly understood that a parliamentary inquiry was to be instituted.

This journey was commenced under circumstances of discouragement; for, when Clarkson

took his leave of Wilberforce, he was confined to his bed by severe and threatening illness. Sir Richard Hill and others were sitting by his bedside. After conversing, as well as he could in his weak state, he held out his hand and wished him success; but his circumstances naturally cast a shade of dejection over the mind of Clarkson. It appeared to him that, in this case, as it often is in that of other earthly things, scarcely was the treasure possessed, ere it was to be taken away. It pleased God, however, to dispel these gloomy fears, and to spare the valuable life of Wilberforce for many years of efficient labour in the noble cause he had espoused. Clarkson proceeded on his journey on horseback, partly with a view to health, and partly to secure to himself time for uninterrupted reflection. On approaching the city of Bristol, he felt somewhat dismayed at the persecution which probably awaited him, when it should be found that he came to attack a principal branch of commerce and source of wealth in that city. He wisely, however, turned rather to a consideration of the peculiar need in which he would stand of extraordinary courage, activity, perseverance, watchfulness, and consistency of conduct. He doubtless raised his heart in supplication that he might be "strengthened with strength in his soul," and he entered the city with an undaunted spirit and firm determination that no labour should make him shrink, nor danger, nor even persecution, deter him from his pursuit.

His first introduction in Bristol was to one who had been engaged in the slave-trade, and well knew the nature and practices of it. Being now under the influence of religious principles, he was

deeply afflicted in mind on account of ever having been thus concerned, and gladly embraced the opportunity of rendering any information which might tend to promote the abolition of this nefarious traffic. To several others, chiefly Quakers, Clarkson was introduced, and derived from all of them assistance in the promotion of his immediate object. These introductions led to the cultivation of friendships which tended to cheer his mind under future labours. At Bristol he employed himself in collecting specimens of African productions, with a view to forming a cabinet or collection, and in gaining information respecting the procuring, transporting, and treatment of slaves; the loss of seamen in the slave-trade, and the commodities in which an equally profitable and less criminal traffic might be carried on with Africa. In a word, his object was to acquire *data*, upon which the friends of abolition in parliament might ground their arguments in its favour, and *persons* having a knowledge of circumstances, who would come forward to be examined as evidences before parliament.

It would be painfully interesting, did space admit, to trace the wearying, self-denying, heart-sickening labours, of this indefatigable philanthropist, and the deeds and scenes of horror which he brought to light; but it is not necessary. Suffice it to say, that they fully established such facts as loudly called for the interference of parliament, to put a stop to so great a national evil, particularly the bad usage of seamen engaged in the service, and the great mortality among them, and the treacheries and cruelties used in procuring and transporting slaves.

As soon as the West-Indian and African merchants discovered the object of Clarkson's visit, they began to calumniate his conduct and motives, and threw every possible difficulty in the way of his gaining access to persons who could furnish him with information. Almost all, of whom he inquired, had been warned against him; some had been bribed, and others intimidated from giving their evidence, and some were secretly conveyed away. He, however, met with friends who defended his character, and forwarded his views. In addition to those already mentioned, were Dr. Camplin and the venerable Dean Tucker; also Mr. Henry Sulgar, a minister of the gospel, belonging to the Moravian Society in Bristol. He furnished authentic documents of some most important and horrible facts, as to the treachery practised in obtaining slaves. The members of the Society of Friends were indefatigable in finding out persons from whom evidence might be obtained; and so ardent was Clarkson in the attainment of his object, that he "regretted the approach of night, which suspended his work, and welcomed that of morning, which restored him to it." When weary, he was refreshed by the thought of what he was doing, and when disconsolate, was comforted by it. He lived in hope that every day's labour would furnish him with knowledge which would bring the evil nearer to its end; and under these feelings he worked on, regarding neither danger nor trouble.

From Bristol he went to Bridgewater, to confer with those who, by the petition already mentioned, (p. 219,) had proved themselves friends to the cause, and to promote the sending another,

and then returned to Bristol to pursue his work. He attempted to gain information from old captains, who had made their fortune in the trade, inviting them either to disprove or confirm the statements which had been made as to the atrocities of the slave-trade; but nothing could bring them forward; and if they met him in the street, they shunned him as if he had been a mad dog. Persons concerned in the trade, who had yet their fortunes to make, were not likely to espouse the cause of humanity to the detriment of their own interest. Owners of vessels forbad their people all intercourse with Clarkson; and though there were many whose necessities drove them to that horrible service for a livelihood, and who would have been glad to forsake it and testify against it, they could not be induced to come forward without such a remuneration or security as would have amounted to bribery, and invalidated their testimony.

It is not wonderful that the effects of such incessant labour, excitement, exposure to weather, and disregard to personal comfort, should agitate and derange the bodily frame, and impair the general health: relaxation became indispensably necessary, and Clarkson accompanied a friend to Monmouth. Determining, however, that even this short parenthesis in his labours should not be wholly lost to the cause, he solicited and obtained an interview with Dr. Davis, a clergyman there; and having communicated to him much information, and replied to many judicious questions and difficulties which he proposed, he left him convinced both of the injustice and impolicy of the trade, and engaged to use his

influence with the inhabitants in promoting a petition for its abolition.

On his return to Bristol, he met the pleasing intelligence that his friends had procured for him an interview with Mr. Alexander Falconbridge, who had been four voyages to Africa, as a surgeon on board slave-vessels. This gentleman had now done with the trade, and was willing, without any reserve, to expose the cruelties which he had witnessed in it. His most affecting details laid open every part of the horrible system, with this additional voucher for their moderation as well as credibility, that many of his observations had been made under a captain whom he highly respected, and who was remarkable for his kind usage of the slaves. Yet were his accounts such as to extort the exclamation, "If these things are done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" and, "If this is the *best* of a slave-passage, how shall imagination paint the *worst?*"

The facts stated by Mr. Falconbridge, bore upon the several particulars which it was desirable to establish. Some of them were corroborated by the testimony of another individual, who had been engaged in the same vessel, and had witnessed the same scenes; but neither party knew of the other having communicated with Mr. Clarkson on the subject, nor did he himself know of their having had any connexion, until, by the coincidence of facts, he was led to inquire into the matter, and found that Mr. Arnold (the other witness) had been mate in the same vessel in which Mr. Falconbridge had been surgeon. On the whole, this gentleman's testimony was, perhaps, as important as that of any one individual whatever, and its

value was enhanced by his perfect willingness to say all he knew upon the subject, either in public or private, having left the trade on principle, and being desirous of doing all that the testimony of an honest man could do towards abolishing it. The joy of Clarkson, on this valuable accession, may be better imagined than described.

During his stay in Bristol, he was instrumental in rescuing some seamen who had been enticed on board slave-ships, and who, having been employed in the trade, gave testimony to its atrocities, and by their means was directed to persons who could confirm their evidence, and some who had actually suffered, and bore indisputable marks of the barbarous usage they had sustained in that horrid service. Having, as he judged, collected all the evidence which Bristol would afford, the laborious apostle of abolition prepared for his departure. He first arranged with the proprietor of the Bath Journal (Mr. Cruttwell, whose name the paper still bears) for the insertion of articles on the slave-trade, and, to the honour of that gentleman be it recorded, that from that day forward he never ceased to defend the righteous cause, and forbore to make any charge for insertions on the subject, considering all he did as a duty to humanity, or as the mite of charity on behalf of a poor and oppressed people. The next object was, to attempt the formation of a committee in Bristol, in order to a petition to parliament from that city. Many friends were now found to stand by the cause. The Quakers, to a man, were strenuous in its support. Dr. Camplin, a clergyman of the establishment, with several of his friends; and Mr. Hughes, at that time pastor of a

Baptist church, and tutor of a Baptist academy, (afterwards more extensively known as the originator, and for many years the secretary, of that noble institution, the British and Foreign Bible Society) were anxious and ready to serve it: besides several private gentlemen of high respectability and influence. Clarkson then informed the committee in London of his progress, and proceeded to Liverpool, accompanied by Mr. Falconbridge. On their way thither they visited Gloucester, communicated with the Rev. Dean Tucker, and gained an introduction to the benevolent Robert Raikes, founder of Sunday-schools, and proprietor of the newspaper in that city. A man of his benevolent character could not but feel pleasure in serving so noble a cause. He engaged to insert communications in his paper without charge, and in other ways to promote the cause, especially by informing the public mind, and preparing the people to petition parliament, when the season should arrive that would render that measure proper. At Worcester, Clarkson was introduced, by a friend named Rivington, to the mayor, the editor of the paper, and several others, and received similar encouragement. At Chester, as the bishop was absent, and he knew no other person, he introduced himself to a Mr. Cowdray, editor of the Chester paper, who was greatly rejoiced to find that such a measure as the abolition of the slave-trade was in contemplation. He freely offered to communicate information in his paper without any remuneration; and, being so near Liverpool, the great strong-hold of slavery, engaged further to watch, and meet any attack that might be made by interested persons. This engagement he fulfilled

with honourable vigilance and fidelity; and when he afterwards removed to Manchester, to establish a paper there, he continued to manifest the same friendly disposition towards the cause.

At Liverpool our indefatigable labourer pursued the same kind of inquiry as he had done at Bristol, and was encouraged by similar countenance and kindness to bear up against similar opposition and obloquy. His early friends in this important place were William Rathbone and Isaac Hadwen, of the Society of Friends, and three who had avowed themselves as friends of abolition by their several literary productions—Mr. Roscoe, author of the poem entitled, The Wrongs of Africa; Dr. Currie, who wrote the preface to that poem; and Mr. Edward Rushton, who had been an officer in a slave-ship, but had lost his sight, and had also become an enemy to the trade. He had published a poem entitled, "West-Indian Eclogues," with a view of making the public better acquainted with the evils of the slave-trade, and of exciting their indignation against it. Each of these had published his work before any public effort had been made in the great cause, and without knowing that any such efforts were intended; and they were prepared to enter with friendly feeling and active co-operation into the views of other friends to the cause.

In addition to the specimens of African produce or manufacture, with which he considerably augmented his interesting collection, and important facts tending to establish the impolicy of the slave-trade, Clarkson had the melancholy satisfaction of procuring a set of the different iron instruments used in the horrid traffic, and which were

commonly exhibited in a shop window—a decided proof that such articles were in use, for where there is no consumption there is no market.

At Liverpool, Mr. Clarkson fell in with several persons who were, or had been, engaged in the traffic. Some of these were friendly, and others hostile, to his views on the subject of abolition. He was placed in some rather awkward positions, and in some that were alarming, by being thrown in company with those who had been parties concerned in the acts of cruelty which he had been instrumental in exposing. At a public dinner-table he was frequently assailed by those who endeavoured to bring both his statements and his motives into contempt, and who would frequently challenge him, whether he had ever been to the coast of Africa, and seen the practices against which he declaimed. On these occasions he found it no small advantage to have Mr. Falconbridge sitting by, who would promptly reply—"But I have been there; I know all your proceedings there, and that these statements are true." There were generally several disinterested persons present, who were uniformly convinced by what they saw and heard, and some of them became warm friends to the cause of abolition. Such, however, was the tide of interested feeling against the measure, that many persons who could have given important evidence, were deterred from doing so; some who were fully alive to the horrors of the trade, and lamented that it should continue, in private encouraged and urged forward the champion of abolition, yet dared not venture publicly to espouse the cause, from an apprehension of violence to their houses or their persons; and it

appeared that these fears were not groundless; for Dr. Binns, a physician, belonging to the Society of Friends, was near falling into a mischievous plot, which had been laid against him, on account of his name appearing as a subscriber to the Abolition Society, and he being suspected of having aided Clarkson in promoting that object. So violent was the hostility against Mr. Clarkson, that he received anonymous letters, entreating him to leave Liverpool immediately, or he would never leave it alive. He found it a necessary precaution never to go out unaccompanied by Mr. Falconbridge, who was a stout athletic man, and well armed. He was one day on the pier-head, looking at some small boats; on turning to depart, he observed eight or nine persons making towards him; he was then only eight or nine yards from the precipice of the pier. He expected these persons would have parted, and suffered him to pass through, but instead of that, they closed upon him and bore him back. He was within a yard of the precipice before he perceived his danger, and then was awakened to it by observing among them two men who had insulted him at the public dinner, and one, of whose guilt as a murderer, Clarkson was in possession of incontrovertible evidence. Rendered vigorous by his sense of danger, he rushed forward, broke the ranks, and providentially escaped, though not without blows, imprecations, and abuse. After a short visit to Lancaster, where the trade appeared to be on the decline, he prepared to return to London. In taking leave of Liverpool, Mr. Clarkson raises an honest tribute to the worth of his friend, William Rathbone, who died soon after-

wards. He was a person of great humility and simplicity of manners, although possessed of pecuniary independence. Firmness of mind is not unfrequently the companion of humility. It was so in this instance: he had always the courage to do what was right, however it might resist the customs or the prejudices of men. In his own line of trade, which was that of a timber-merchant, on an extensive scale, he would not allow any article to be sold for the use of a slave ship. It was evidently his intention, had he lived, to have borne his testimony on this subject more publicly; for, after his decease, there was found among his papers a memorandum for advertisement in the Liverpool papers, stating the ground of his refusal to furnish any thing for this traffic upon christian principles.

On arriving at Manchester, Clarkson was welcomed by three gentlemen, strangers to him, but friends to the cause which he held dearer than life,—Messrs. Walker, Cooper, and Bayley. From them he learnt, with joy and surprise, that the cause was spreading much more rapidly than he had any idea of. A lively interest was diffusing itself through Manchester and other places, which would unquestionably soon break forth in petitions to parliament for abolition. So entirely had Clarkson devoted himself to his object, that he had never found time to read a newspaper since he left London. Perhaps the remark may not be wholly unsuitable here, that newspaper reading, like novel reading, is a great consumer of time, and often a dangerous snare, leading persons to excess, both in the time and feeling bestowed upon it. Great newspaper readers are often great and

lond talkers, but seldom great doers, in any work that requires real persevering labour. The gentlemen above-mentioned introduced Mr. Clarkson to a fourth, named Phillips. They conversed at first about the information elicited on his journey; but in a little time, understanding that he had been educated as a clergyman, they urged him to deliver a sermon, on the following day, on the slave-trade. After considerable hesitation as to the hastiness of the summons, and as to the propriety of introducing into the pulpit a subject in some degree political, he was induced to comply, from a conviction that the slave-trade being a mass of crimes, an effort to get rid of it was a christian's duty, and might be urged on the most sacred principles. He preached from Exod. xxiii. 9, "Thou shalt not oppress a stranger, for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."

From Manchester Mr. Clarkson proceeded to Derbyshire, to spend a day with lord Scarsdale, the earliest noble friend of abolition, to inform him of the progress made, and to show him the collection of African productions. There he learnt of a new coadjutor, the Rev. John Toogood, of Keinton, in Dorsetshire, who had addressed several letters on the subject, through provincial papers, by which means a considerable effect had been produced in that county. Thus it appeared that the holy flame was spreading and bursting forth in new directions. At Birmingham, Mr. Clarkson was introduced to two brothers of Mr. Lloyd, a member of their committee, and had the pleasure to find that they, in conjunction with Mr. Russell, had been endeavouring to excite the attention of

the inhabitants, and that a spirit of lively zeal in the cause was beginning to discover itself there. He next returned to Bristol, where he was called to endure most exciting, anxious, perilous, exhausting, and finally unsuccessful labours, in prosecuting the chief mate of a slave-trader, for the murder of one of his seamen. There was the fullest evidence of his guilt, but two most important witnesses were bought off, and sent out of the way, and two others did not arrive till a few hours too late: the murderer, therefore, was discharged by proclamation. It could but be hoped that this very narrow escape might prove the means of leading the offender to penitence. The cause of abolition was also greatly advanced by the facts brought to light by the diligent inquiries of Clarkson, although in no one instance the offenders were brought to legal punishment. The public knew the horrible crimes that had been perpetrated, and knew that the guilty parties deserved to suffer; but what was of far more importance, they knew also, and were more and more established in the conviction, that the guilty system ought to be put an end to, which gave occasion to such atrocities.

After suffering at Bristol from a fever, brought on by excessive labour, anxiety, and exposure, Mr. Clarkson returned to London, to report to the committee the progress he had made, and to bring out a second edition of his Essay, with the addition of such facts as had come to his knowledge on his recent tour. During his absence the committee had been watchful and laborious. It was owing to their exertions, in diffusing knowledge, that the public spirit had been roused, which he

had observed with so much delight in Manchester and other places. They had issued circular letters, announcing the formation and objects of the society, and had, in consequence, received expressions of approbation and concurrence, both from public bodies and individuals. The Quakers, as a religious body, publicly expressed their pleasure and thankfulness that the cause was now taken up by persons not of their communion. The General Baptists came next. The Rev. Dan. Taylor and Stephen Lowdell attended as a deputation from the annual meeting of that religious body, to inform the committee that those whom they represented approved their proceedings, and would countenance the object of their institution.

The first individual who addressed the committee was Mr. William Smith, for many years M.P. for Norwich, and one who was a steady friend to the cause, and devoted much time and attention to its promotion.* He expressed a lively pleasure in finding persons associated in the support of a cause in which he himself had taken a deep interest. He suggested useful hints, promised co-operation, and exhorted them not to despair or be discouraged, even though their first attempt should prove unsuccessful. This is a most important lesson, and which all must learn who hope successfully to prosecute any great cause. We too often see persons of great ardour at first setting out, who, if exercised with disappointment, discouragement, or delay, soon become weary and faint in their minds, and desert a cause which, by perseverance,

* Mr. Smith died in 1835.

might have ultimately proved successful. Perseverance is essential to greatness of character and to successful enterprise.

The committee now established a system of correspondence with the societies in America, by means of William Dillwyn, and with Mr. Ramsay, (p. 203). Each member of the committee was desired to bring in a list of persons known to him as friendly to the cause, and from their judgment and weight of character fit to recommend it. The result proved that they had friends in no less than thirty-nine counties; each of whom would prove like a link in the chain which conducts the electric fluid. By their means, each being furnished with the circulars of the society and summary views, a knowledge of the institution was soon widely diffused. In consequence of the increase of business occasioned by this correspondence, the names of Robert Barclay, John Vickriss Taylor, and Josiah Wedgewood, were added to the committee.

This correspondence soon elicited very important communications. Among the first was a letter from Brissot, a Frenchman, who, with his friend Claviere, (both of whom suffered during the revolutionary troubles in France,) desired to be associated in "this heavenly work," offering to translate and distribute such works as might be transmitted to them by the committee, and to appoint bankers in Paris, who might receive subscriptions and transmit them to London for the good of the common cause. They hoped also, as an interest in the subject should spread, a committee might be formed in Paris, to endeavour to secure the

attainment of the same object from the government of France. The committee recommended the latter object, and declined accepting foreign pecuniary assistance, not doubting but the generosity of their own nation would furnish sufficient funds.

A letter was also received from the Rev. John Wesley, (see p. 199.) His enlightened mind perceived that the design of the society, while it would destroy the slave-trade, would strike at the root of slavery also. He warned them of great difficulties and opposition, engaged to do all in his power to promote their cause among his friends in England and Ireland, and concluded by commending them to HIM who was able to carry them through all difficulties, and support them under all discouragements.

Mr. Leigh, a clergyman in Norfolk, offered his services in that large county; and Granville Sharp was appointed chairman of the committee, an honour most justly deserved, but from which he modestly shrunk. His labours were performed under a sense of christian duty, he therefore considered that he had done nothing extraordinary to merit such a distinction. "He sought not honour from men;" but honour, which, like the shadow, flees from those who pursue, followed him who attempted to flee from it, and he who humbled himself was justly exalted.

The committee now adopted a characteristic seal, representing a negro in chains, with one knee on the ground, and both hands lifted up to heaven, surrounded with the motto, as if spoken by himself, "Am I not a man and a brother?"

This was afterwards multiplied in various forms, and contributed, in no small degree, to promote a feeling of warm interest on behalf of injured Africa.

Among the new friends who responded to the extended appeals of the society, were Dr. Price, a celebrated political and moral writer, and minister of a dissenting congregation at Hackney; John Kerrich, Esq. of Harleston, Suffolk; and Joshua Grigby, Esq. of Drinkston, Norfolk; each tendering their service for their respective counties. Also Major Cartwright, and the Rev. John Charlesworth, engaged together in the cause in the county of Nottingham. The Rev. R. B. Nicholls, Dean of Middleham, in Yorkshire, who was a native of the West Indies, and had travelled on the continent of America, addressed a letter to the committee, containing much valuable information, which he offered as his mite towards the cause, and as an encouragement to them to persevere. He proved that if the slave-trade were abolished, and the slaves humanely treated, the natural increase of population would be fully adequate to the cultivation of the soil, without any fresh supplies from Africa. In proof of this he instanced two estates, the one, requiring continual supplies of new slaves, in consequence of the severe and cruel usage adopted upon it; the other, in consequence of a system of kindness, overflowing with labourers, so that it almost peopled another estate. This letter was deemed of so much importance, especially as it was the result of local knowledge, that the committee requested permission to print it, which was readily granted.

About this time a lively interest in the abolition

was manifested in the university and town of Cambridge. Among its advocates Dr. Watson,* Bishop of Llandaff, was most conspicuous. Somewhat later a similar spirit was manifested in Oxford. Dr. Horne, President of Magdalen College in that university, and afterwards Bishop of Norwich, was a zealous favourer of the cause; as was also Dr. Bathurst, then a Canon of Christ Church, Oxon, who succeeded Dr. Horne in the bishopric of Norwich, of which he is still the venerable prelate. Dr. Hinchliffe, Bishop of Peterborough, also expressed his hearty approbation of the plan, and his determination to support it in parliament.

Meanwhile the committee was enlarged by the accession of William Pitt and James Minter, Esqrs. and M.P., and of Robert Hunter, Joseph Smith, and John Maitland, Esqrs. The list of correspondents also rapidly increased, each offering assistance in their respective spheres. Among these were H. Grimston, Esq. of Whitwell Hall, near York; Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Jones, Mr. Frend, and Mr. Lambert, of Cambridge; Capel Lloft, Esq., a literary gentleman of Troston, in Suffolk; Rev. R. Broome, of Ipswich; Mr. Hamond, of Stanton, near St. Ives; Mr. Parker, of Beverley, and Mr. Grove, of Litchfield. It is interesting to observe how friends, springing up in different districts, inoculated, as it were, the country throughout, with the principles of justice, humanity, and abhorrence of slavery.

Mr. Falconbridge, whose valuable services in accompanying and assisting Clarkson were grate-

* Author of "An Apology for the Bible," in answer to Thomas Paine.

fully acknowledged, having but lately returned from Africa, many of the facts and circumstances which he stated had occurred at a much later period than most of those already before the public; he was prevailed upon to write an account of the four voyages which he had taken to Africa. His statements convinced many persons who had long flattered themselves that matters connected with the slave-trade were not as bad as had been represented. About the same time Mr. Newton (see p. 235) felt it his duty to write his "Thoughts on the African Slave-Trade." This tract, as well as all the other works referred to within the last few pages, was printed and widely circulated.

About this time a case occurred, which issued successfully to the cause of freedom, and which tended to deepen impressions in its favour. Two black men, one a free native of Antigua, the other a Spanish negro, had been picked up by a British merchantman from the wreck of a Spanish ship. When the ship was lying in the river Thames, the captain detained these men against their wills, and refused to give them up. This being reported to the committee, Mr. Sharp caused a writ of habeas corpus to be served upon them, and soon after had the satisfaction of reporting that they were delivered from their place of confinement. Two or three years later, notwithstanding the settlement of the question by law, that a negro setting his foot in England is free, some persons were found hardy enough to inflict oppressive restraints, and compel those whom they brought to England, as servants, to return as slaves. Perhaps the last instance of the kind is one mentioned by Mrs. Hannah More. "I cannot forbear telling you, that at my city

of Bristol, during church time, the congregations were surprised last Sunday with the bell of a public crier in the streets. It was so unusual a sound on that day, that the people were alarmed in the churches. They found that the bellman was crying a reward of a guinea to any one who would produce a poor negro girl, who had run away because she would not return to one of those trafficking islands whither her master was resolved to send her. To my great grief and indignation, the poor trembling wretch was dragged out from a hole in the top of a house, where she had hid herself, and forced on board ship. Alas! I did not know it till too late, or I would have run the risk of buying her, and made you and the rest of my humane, I had almost said human, friends help me out, if the cost had been considerable."

Among the overtures of good-will and assistance, received by the society at this time, were the following:—from Archdeacon Plymley, (afterwards Corbett,) proposing a petition to parliament from the clergy of the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, who were anxious to espouse the measure; from Archdeacon Paley, containing his sentiments on a plan for the abolition of the slave-trade, and manumission of the slaves in the West-India islands; from Dr. Sharp, Prebendary of Durham; and Dr. Woodward, Bishop of Cloyne, in Ireland: also from the celebrated French Marquis, De la Fayette, who proposed attempting the establishment of a society in France, which should unite with that in England, and expressing the hope that if France and England were united in this humane and christian work, the other European nations might be induced to follow their example. Various other

correspondents, in different parts of England, announced that public meetings had been held, and petitions agreed on in their several districts. A strong feeling on the subject was now widely diffused. The wrongs of Africa formed a pretty general topic of conversation in most circles. Thirty-five petitions had been delivered to the House of Commons, and others were on their way to the House.

The general state of public feeling had excited the attention of government; and the king, by an order of council, dated Feb. 11, 1788, directed that a committee of privy council should take into consideration the African slave-trade, with its effects and consequences, in Africa, in the colonies and settlements, and on the general commerce of this kingdom.

Mr. Wilberforce, whose attention had been given to this great subject, as far as his health would admit, received notice of this order of council, but was too ill personally to take any measures concerning it. He therefore requested Mr. Clarkson immediately to repair to London, and collect such evidence as it might be deemed eligible to present when the council sat.

The first important matter which engaged the attention of Clarkson, was an interview with that great statesman, Mr. Pitt, procured by means of Mr. Wilberforce. The subject appeared to be new to the statesman: he had entered very little into it, and expressed his doubts on many points of the correctness of the statements laid before him. Especially he was at a loss to conceive how private interest should fail to restrain a master from injuring his slave, as it would restrain a man

from injuring a horse or an ox, whose injury would be his own loss. A second circumstance, the truth of which he doubted, was the mortality and ill-usage of sailors in this trade; and a third, was that of the rich productions of Africa, and the genius and abilities of the people. On each of these points Clarkson stood fully prepared to satisfy the inquiring premier. The next day was appointed, when he took his books, papers, and African productions. Mr. Pitt with great patience examined the copies of the muster rolls, where he found the name of every seaman, his former abode or service, the time of his entry, and what had become of him, either by death, discharge, or desertion. Having accurately gone over more than a hundred pages, he expressed his surprise at the great pains that had been taken in this branch of the inquiry, and confessed, with some emotion, that his doubts were wholly removed. He was equally astonished at the various beautiful woods and other productions of Africa; but most of all at the manufactures of the natives, in cotton, leather, gold, and iron. These he handled and examined again and again. Many sublime thoughts seemed to rush in upon him, some of which he expressed with observations becoming a great and dignified mind, and was evidently much impressed in favour of abolition. Mr. Clarkson also had an interview with Mr. (afterwards lord) Grenville, whom he found already well disposed towards the cause; having a warm feeling on behalf of the injured Africans, and prepared to have his feelings and reasonings confirmed, which the evidence laid before him could not fail to effect. A report having gone abroad that only persons interested in

the continuance of the traffic would be examined before the council, Clarkson again waited on Mr. Pitt, and received from him an assurance that every person whom he might choose to send to the council on behalf of the committee should be heard. It was, however, matter of regret and apprehension, that though specimens and authentic official documents were possessed in abundance, to prove many important points, but few living witnesses could be prevailed upon to come forward and attest in public, facts of which they had been eye-witnesses, and on which they had willingly borne their testimony in private, and expressed their deep regret that such things should exist. All on whom they could confidently depend were Mr. Ramsay, (see p. 203,) Mr. H. Gaudy, Mr. Falconbridge, Mr. Newton, and the Dean of Middleham. One, of whom much had been hoped, and who had given most decisive and important testimony to Mr. Clarkson, at Liverpool, now actually came up as a delegate in support of the slave-trade! He wrote a flattering letter to Clarkson, full of high compliments as to the general force of his arguments, and the justice and humanity of his sentiments; but, he had found occasion, since they parted, to differ on some particular points, and he had therefore the less reluctantly yielded to the call of becoming a delegate, though he would gladly have declined the office, if he could have done it with propriety. "Occasion!" Yes, no doubt he found the same occasion that Balaam did to go with the princes of Midian. Oh, the instability and inconsistency of man, when strong interest pulls against weak principle! It is not worth while to preserve the

names or arguments of those who appeared before the privy council to deny or explain away the evils of a system which they were interested in maintaining. They positively denied that kidnapping took place, or that wars were excited for the purpose of obtaining slaves. They professed that the slaves were either made prisoners in just war, or condemned for their crimes; and that slavery in most instances was a rescue from immediate death; and not only so, but a removal to a far more eligible and comfortable situation than they had ever known before. These impudent assertions produced a considerable effect on the minds of some of the council, and were industriously spread among the public, in order to weaken the credit of the society and the interest in the cause.

A good and great mind may for a time be warped by plausible misrepresentation; thus many for a time were prejudiced against the cause; but the elasticity of such a mind will recover itself as soon as the unnatural pressure is taken off. Those who had been staggered and prejudiced by these hostile statements, on more mature consideration found in them such a discrepancy with the professed principles of those who made them, as cast a shade of suspicion and invalidity over the whole. To give but one example: they professed to be actuated by principles of humanity in buying and rescuing those who were about to be put to death, but admitted that they rejected all such as were not likely to suit their purpose, and left them to their hard fate. These *humane* captains and slave-dealers having made their selection, had actually stood by and seen the "refuse"

hurled down a rock! Mr. Falconbridge and others were then introduced to bear their testimony, and about the same time a most important accession of strength was providentially and unexpectedly afforded.

Dr. Andrew Spaarman, professor of physic, inspector of the museum of the Royal Academy at Stockholm, and Mr. C. B. Wadstrom, chief director of the assay office there, had been sent to Africa, by the King of Sweden, to make discoveries in botany, mineralogy, and other departments of science. They had visited the countries bordering on the river Senegal, and had now just arrived in London, which they visited on their way home. By means of Mr. George Harrison, one of the committee, Mr. Clarkson was introduced to them, and soon found that they were in possession of invaluable information. They gave him many beautiful specimens of African produce, and showed him their journals, which they had kept regularly from day to day, and had minuted a number of circumstances bearing upon the slave-trade, and even had made drawings on the subject. From these gentlemen he derived more accurate and satisfactory knowledge of African manners and customs than from all others whom he had yet seen. He was therefore anxious to take them before the council, which was granted; and their evidence was the more unexceptionable, not only from the public and royal sanction given to their names and their mission, but also from the object of that mission having been wholly unconnected with the slave-trade, and the certainty that they could have no interest to serve in giving evidence either on one side or the other.

Dr. Spaarman, being about to leave London, was examined first. His evidence went to show that the natives of Africa lived in a fruitful luxuriant country, which supplied all their wants; and that they would be a happy people if it were not for the existence of the slave-trade. He also instanced wars, which he knew to have been made by the Moors upon the negroes, at the instigation of the white traders, solely for the purpose of getting slaves. He had also seen the unhappy captives brought in; had witnessed their sufferings and the agonies of separation. He had seen the king of Barbesin send out parties, and saw them return with slaves; and he knew that this was done at the instigation of white traders, and that they made the king intoxicated in order to gain his consent. Many other instances of treachery and cruelty he distinctly stated, which fully corroborated all previous accounts of the enormities connected with the slave-trade. One moment's digression, for a hint to young persons to cultivate a habit of correctly observing, carefully remembering, exactly noting down, and distinctly relating, interesting facts which pass under their observation. Such a habit will greatly facilitate their own acquisition of knowledge, and will attach credit and value to their testimony, which at some time or other may be of essential service to their fellow-creatures. If Dr. Spaarman's memorandum book had been as loose, disorderly, confused, and deficient as those which some young ladies could produce, his evidence would scarcely have been admitted before a British council. But so important were his statements, and so clear his documents, that they turned the tide in favour of the society.

Meanwhile petitions were flowing in from various parts of the kingdom. One hundred and three were presented in one session, including one from the city of London, and one from each of the Universities. The established church, in several dioceses, and the quakers and other dissenters, as separate religious bodies, joined with one voice in the call of humanity. New friends were springing up in different parts of the country; and where one or two humble labourers had long been endeavouring to promote the object on a small scale, they were encouraged by the accession of persons of rank, talent, and influence. A society was established in Paris, of which the learned Marquis de Condorcet was president; the Duc de Rochefoucault, the Marquis de la Fayette, and Petion, afterwards Mayor of Paris, were among the early members, as also ladies of the highest rank and intellect. Dr. Frossard, of Lyons, undertook to diffuse information on the subject in the south of France, and desired different publications for that purpose. Offers and intelligence of co-operation were also received from Edinburgh, Dublin, Germany, America, and Barbadoes; the latter, from W. Senhouse, Esq., a proprietor in that island, who gave an interesting account of the increase of population on his own estate and that of a nobleman in the island, in consequence of humane treatment; as also, that the negroes were among the most orderly and tractable on the island, from which he justly argued, that if all the planters would take proper care of their slaves, and treat them with humanity, they would soon be repaid by a valuable increase of property, and would

never want supplies from a traffic which had been so justly condemned.

A pamphlet was issued about this time, containing statements and observations by J. F. Stanfield, a mariner, on a voyage he had lately made to the coast of Africa for slaves; and as many doubts and difficulties had been thrown in the way by persons interested in the continuance of the slave-trade, Mr. Ramsay, the early and able advocate of abolition, collected these objections, and put such answers to each as his intimate local knowledge enabled him to suggest. These were sent to each member of both houses of parliament. The public anxiety and expectation were now becoming intense, for some notice to be taken in parliament of their numerous petitions. Delegates from some of the principal places visited London to confer with the committee there, and to give their attendance while the subject was under parliamentary discussion. The session of parliament had already two-thirds passed by, and Mr. Wilberforce was still in an alarming state of health, with little prospect of recovery—none whatever of a speedy recovery. So precarious was his state, that his physicians found it necessary to forbid his even reading letters on a subject of such exciting interest as the slave-trade. The committee were involved in perplexity, when a message was received from Mr. Pitt, the prime minister, desiring a conference with their chairman. Mr. Sharp accordingly went. He had an opportunity of fully stating the views of the committee, and received from Mr. Pitt the consolatory assurance that his heart was with them,

and that he considered himself pledged to Mr. Wilberforce, that the cause should not sustain any injury from his indisposition. The examinations before the privy council were not yet closed, and some doubt existed whether the business could be fully investigated in that session of parliament; however, it was determined to introduce it. May 9th was fixed for the minister to bring forward his motion, meanwhile the committee of the society sent deputations to some of the leading members of parliament, to request their support of the motion. Mr. Clarkson, with some others, waited on Mr. Fox, (the leader of the opposition in the house of commons,) who unequivocally assured them that he would support the object of the committee to its fullest extent, being convinced that there was no remedy for the evil, but in the total abolition of the trade.

At length we have this great measure fairly brought before parliament. Mr. Pitt, in introducing the subject, did not fully disclose his own views, but rather left it as a matter for calm and serious deliberation. Mr. Fox unhesitatingly declared his opinion that the slave-trade ought not to be regulated but destroyed. Mr. Burke, one of the most celebrated politicians and orators of the day, took the same view, maintaining that the slave-trade was directly contrary to the principles of humanity and justice, and to the spirit of the British constitution; and that the state which followed it, however mitigated, was a state so improper, so degrading, and so ruinous to the feelings and capacities of human nature, that it ought not to be suffered to exist. The following gentlemen expressed their determination to promote the

abolition of the slave-trade:—Mr. Martin, Sir William Dolben, Sir James Johnstone, Mr. L. Smith, Mr. Grigby, Mr. Bastard, Mr. Whitbread. Mr. Bolle, and Mr. Pelham, took the same view with some qualification, viz.—*If* the slave-trade be as *bad* as is represented, it ought to be done away; and *if* it *cannot* be done away, it ought to be regulated. The question proposed went no further than to pledge the house, in the commencement of the next session, to take into consideration the circumstances of the slave-trade complained of in the petitions, which was agreed to unanimously; and the strong and correct feeling manifested on that occasion, gave a pledge that, whatever delays and opposition might arise, the measure would never be abandoned until its end was achieved.

One of the speakers, Sir Wm. Dolben, had affectingly alluded to the horrors of the middle passage; and so deeply was his mind impressed with the subject, that he could not endure the consideration to be altogether delayed to another session, but desired to do something, by which the miseries of the trade might be diminished as much as possible while it lasted, or till the legislature could take up the whole question. He therefore moved for a bill to regulate the passage and relieve the sufferers. He did not intend, by any regulations he might propose, to sanction or countenance the slave-trade, which, however modified, would be always wicked and unjustifiable, but merely to make legal provision for the intermediate time which must elapse before the evil could be effectually removed, to limit the number of persons according to the size of the vessel, to secure to them good and sufficient provisions, and

to take cognizance of other matters which related to their health and accommodation. This humane motion was warmly received by most of the friends of abolition, though some apprehended that it might be regarded as sanctioning a traffic which ought to be utterly exterminated; and that something having been done to alleviate the condition of the slaves, might prove as an opiate to the sympathy at present in exercise, and incline persons to rest satisfied without really touching the root of the evil. The question was opposed on other grounds by some: these were those who regarded the humane sympathy excited on behalf of injured Africa as mere enthusiasm, which ran away with the understandings of men, and disqualified them from judging soberly concerning the question. And the merchants of Liverpool, being informed of the proceedings, determined to oppose the bill in every stage, and even the very principle of it. Accordingly, when the bill was to be read a second time, petitions were brought against it from interested persons, and it was agreed that both counsel and evidence should be heard.

The interested party took every opportunity of occasioning delay, and when their witnesses were brought forward they attempted to prove that the interference was wholly unnecessary; that the slaves had sufficient air, exercise, and provisions; that they were cheerful and merry; and, in short, that the voyage from Africa to the West Indies was one of the happiest periods of a negro's life: moreover, they objected to the bill, inasmuch as they regarded it, under the specious mask of a temporary interference with the trade, aiming at

nothing less than its abolition. The principal speakers in reply to the opposition were Mr. Pitt, Sir C. Middleton, Lord Belgrave, Mr. Wm. Smith, and Mr. Beaufoy. The two latter examined the witnesses who were brought up to support the continuance of things as they were, and from their lips were reluctantly dragged forth admissions, fully proving the case to be as bad as the most zealous abolitionist could represent it. It was also found that they were guilty of a wilful concealment of such facts, as, if communicated, would have invalidated their own testimony. The diligent inquiries of Clarkson, in Liverpool, had put him in possession of the means of detecting the suppression and contradictions; and in one particular instance, in which the evidence of a person examined had made no unfavourable impression on the house, he was, at the suggestion of Clarkson, assailed with such questions, and put in such a manner, as convinced him that the party proposing them had a clue to his secrets. He immediately faltered, became embarrassed, and with trembling confessed that he had lost fifteen, or more than a third, of his sailors in his last voyage. By question after question, judiciously proposed, it was reluctantly wrung from him, that he has lost one-third of his slaves also, amounting to 120; that twelve others perished by accident, having been drowned; and that between twenty and thirty more of his cargo died before he left the coast. Thus the waste of human life, in one voyage, amounted to upwards of 160 persons, to the utter confusion of this champion of the merchants, this advocate for the health and happiness of the slaves in the middle passage. Mr. Beaufoy

in an able speech, summed up the evidence of the several witnesses, all of whom appeared on behalf of slave-traders, and proved from their statements, that the mortality was seventeen times greater than in the ordinary circumstances of human life. He closed with an animated appeal to the justice and mercy of the house to relieve the misery of the injured, and to their public spirit to wipe off so foul a stain from national honour. At the close of the debate, fifty-six appeared in favour of the bill, and only five against it; which five were the two members for Liverpool, the strong hold of slavery, and three other interested persons.

On the bill being carried to the House of Lords, the slave-merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool, presented petitions against it; and although their witnesses had been driven in disgrace from the commons, they had the effrontery to ask that they might be heard before the lords. The bill met with a less favourable reception in that house than in the other. Its bitter opposers shall not be named here; but its most strenuous supporters were, the duke of Richmond, the marquis Townshend, the earl of Carlisle, the bishop of London, and earl Stanhope. With some alterations, the bill however passed by a majority of nineteen to eleven votes. It was then returned to the commons; but, on account of the alterations, thrown out, and sir William Dolben moved for leave to bring in a new bill. This bill passed the commons, in spite of the petitions against it; but, in the lords, so many alterations were suggested, that it was considered better to dismiss it and originate another. Sir W. Dolben, therefore, once more framed a bill,

which passed through its several stages in the commons. In the lords it met the same opposition as its predecessors, both from the influence of petitions from interested persons, and the policy of a certain noble adversary, who suggested certain alterations for consideration and discussion, which, had they been agreed upon by the lords, must have been sent to the other house to receive the sanction of the commons, which could not have been effected before parliament would close. Earl Stanhope, therefore, pressed this circumstance upon the lords present; and, in consequence, they were induced to pass the bill as it stood. Thus passed, through a severe ordeal, the first bill that ever put fetters on that barbarous and destructive monster, the slave-trade; and the next day, the king having given his assent to the bill, concluded the session of parliament.

Meanwhile the examinations before the lords in council were going on, and the committee pursued and extended their labours in promotion of the cause. Mr. Hughes, a clergyman at Ware, and Mr. Roscoe, already mentioned, each did good service to the cause, by answers to a book which had been written to prove, from Scripture, the lawfulness of the slave-trade.

Dr. Spaarman, who had been before the lords in council, on his return to Sweden was charged by the society with several of their publications, which he engaged to present, with a letter, to the king, stating to him the measures which were taking in England towards the abolition of the horrid traffic, and the objection alleged by the adversaries of abolition, that, should Britain abandon the traffic, the other European nations would

take it up, to the disadvantage of Britain, without benefiting Africa. They entreated his majesty that he, as one of the sovereigns of Europe, would contribute to obviate this objection to the cause of humanity, by preventing his own subjects from embarking in the trade, if given up by Britain. This communication was graciously received, and to the honour of the king and people of Sweden, Dr. Spaarman was directed to reply, that though, in consequence of hereditary possessions, the king of Sweden was sovereign of an island which had been principally peopled by African slaves, he had been mindful of their hard case: that he never heard of an instance in which the merchants of his own nation had embarked in the slave-trade; and, as they had hitherto preserved their character pure in this respect, he would do all he could that it should not be sullied in the eyes of the generous English nation, by taking up, in the case which had been pointed out to him, such an odious concern. Among the new correspondents of this period was Dr. Franklin, of Philadelphia, and Dr. Evans, of Bristol, pastor of a baptist church, and tutor of an academy in Bristol, stating that the elders of several associated churches of that denomination, forming the Western Association, at a public meeting had resolved to recommend it to all the ministers and members of the same to unite with the committee in promotion of the great object of their institution.

Mr. Andrew Irwin, of the island of Grenada, and J. L. Wynne, Esq., of Jamaica, wrote to the committee, confirming the worst accounts they had received of the condition of the slaves, and

encouraging and suggesting methods for improving it.

To this period belong several references in the life of Hannah More, (already alluded to,) which are interesting, as marking the lively interest taken in the subject of abolition by herself, and the distinguished personages of that day with whom she associated.

1787. "I heard from both Sir Charles Middleton, and Mr. Morton Pitt, that Mr. Wilberforce told the house he should bring in a bill after the holidays for the abolition of the slave-trade. Mr. Fox went up to him, and told him, that he should heartily concur in that measure; that he had thoughts of bringing in such a bill himself, but was very glad it was in so much better hands."

1788. "I am busily engaged on a poem to be called 'Slavery;' I grieve I did not set about it sooner, as it must now be done in such a hurry as no poem should ever be written in, to be properly correct. But bad or good, if it does not come out at the particular moment when the discussion comes on in parliament, it will not be worth a straw."

"The slave cause gains proselytes; and, of course, opposers, every day. Mr. Wilberforce has not been well, so the day for bringing it out is not known. My poem is sadly imperfect, but time is every thing." To this task Miss More appears to have been urged by Mr. Grant, Mr. Hoare, and the Rev. Richard Cecil.

The poem, however meanly thought of by its author, was nevertheless approved by competent judges: Joseph Warton, poet laureate; Horace

Walpole; Richard Owen Cambridge, and many others: the last named gentleman, in acknowledging it, gave the following anecdote of the ingenious idea entertained by a sensible negro:—

"When the God of the universe created this globe, he made first a black man, and said to him, 'Black man, I make you first, because you are my favourite, and therefore I give you the choice of this earth; and whatever part of it you like best shall be yours, and go to your children. In return for this partial lot, you must be good, and all blessings shall be continued to you.' 'Then,' said the poor fellow, (to use his own words,) 'Black man laugh. Him choose fine warm country, bring plenty to eat, want no clothes, live without labour. Black man happy, but black man no good, no deserve. So God made white man; tell him he be good, he be favourite, bid him choose where to live. White man look about, see black man got all good country; white man cry,—him forced wear clothes for cold; him hungry, nothing to eat; him complain, God pity him: tell him be good, he give him head. White man got head; him build house, make clothes, light fire, plant yam. White man laugh, but white man no good. White man got head, make black man slave: black man cry. Black man got friend, friend got head. Black man laugh!"

"Lady Juliana Penn called to thank me for the compliment paid to her name, and to the Quakers, in the little poem on slavery."

"The other day I was at Mr. Langton's. Our only subject was abolition, we fell to it with great eagerness, and paid no attention to the wits who were round us."

The laborious Clarkson, in the summer of 1788, prepared a letter to the privy council, on the ill usage and mortality of the seamen employed in the slave-trade; and, also, a series of questions divided into six tables. The first related to the produce of Africa, and the dispositions and manners of the natives. The second to the methods of reducing them to slavery. The third to the manner of bringing them to the ships, their value, the medium of exchange, and other circumstances. The fourth to their transportation. The fifth to their treatment in the colonies. The sixth to the seamen employed in the trade. These were printed on a sheet of paper, and sent in franks to different correspondents, that each, as he had opportunity, might collect answers from persons in their neighbourhood, who, from having been in those parts, might be capable of giving evidence. This done, Clarkson set out on a new tour through England, for the purpose of forming local societies, to act in harmony with that in London, and acquiring further information, and corroborating proofs of information already communicated. He was out two months, travelled upwards of sixteen hundred miles, and conversed with forty-seven persons capable of promoting the cause by their evidence, nine of whom only were willing to be publicly examined on what they had stated. During his absence, the committee had discovered one or two willing witnesses; and Mr. Wilberforce, now recovered from his dangerous illness, had found one or two more. The examinations were resumed; but not more than four or five had been examined, when the distressing illness of the king (George III.) interrupted the process. At this

time a brother of Mr. Clarkson, a young officer in the navy, being warmly interested in the slave question, was prevailed on to visit Havre-de-Grace, the great slave port of France, and there to make observations, with a view of being able to counteract any false statement which might be made by opponents relative to that quarter. His evidence, however important, was not received, as the number to be examined was restricted to eight witnesses, then narrowed to three; and, at last, at the request of Mr. Clarkson, reduced to *one*, Mr. Arnold, whom Clarkson had met in Bristol, and was anxiously desirous of meeting again; and who had now just returned from Africa with facts so important, as appeared to the committee worth relinquishing the examination of all their other witnesses to secure his. He and Mr. Gardiner, two surgeons who had gone out in 1787, promised to keep a regular journal of facts during the voyage they were about to perform. Gardiner died on the coast of Africa, and his journal having been discovered, was buried with him in great triumph by those who were interested in suppressing the facts it contained; but Arnold returned in safety, and having sworn before a master in chancery to the truth of his journal, it was delivered to the Lords in Council, who read it throughout, and then questioned him upon it.

It would swell this work too much to detail the particulars of publications issued by the society, and of accessions to its list of friends and contributors, by which a continually widening spread was given to its principles. Of course a correspondent opposition was called forth on the part of those who were interested in upholding the

system of slavery. Nor is it worth while to preserve their furious abuse against the advocates of humanity, nor their absurd arguments as to the inferiority of the negro race. The latter were abundantly refuted by the numerous and beautiful specimens of ingenuity and perseverance which the indefatigable Clarkson exhibited before the lords in council; and the former fell harmless on the men against whom they were directed, being met by the brazen shield of a good conscience and a good cause, and long since rolled away by the triumphs of truth.

The report of the privy council was presented to the house of commons by Mr. Pitt. It was a large folio volume, and the evidence it contained was to be the foundation of the arguments to be brought before the house. It was, therefore, deemed adviseable to postpone the discussion a few days, in order to give members of the house an opportunity of making themselves more thoroughly acquainted with the subject. Many, among whom were Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Pitt, retired into the country to read the report. In this retirement they made such calculations as fully satisfied them that the cause must ultimately triumph. Moreover, that the abolition was as safe and politic as it was just and necessary; and that the islands could go on in a flourishing state without supplies from Africa. It will be remembered that, at this time, nothing was generally contemplated beyond the abolition of the slave-trade.

It was to this seclusion that Mrs. Hannah More refers, when she says, " Mr. Wilberforce, and the whole junto of the abolitionists, are still locked

up at Teston. They are up *slaving* till two o'clock every morning, and I think Mrs. Bouverie told me, they had walked out but once in the three weeks they had been there. While I was at Sir Charles Middleton's, the other night, in came a copy of the evidence before the privy council. It was the thickest volume I had ever seen. Well might the commons desire a week's suspension of the business to read it. I have invited myself to Mrs. Montague's saturnalia* next year, unless by that time I should be engaged to dine with a party of free negroes. I fear there will be great opposition to the abolition in the lords. I dined with a party of peers at lord O.'s, and there was not one friend to that humane bill."

On the 12th of May, the subject was introduced to the house in a noble speech by Mr. Wilberforce, which lasted three hours and a half, in which he laid before the house the general merits of the question, and answered all the principal objections of its adversaries.

At this day of the triumphs of machinery, when, in almost every department, human labour is in a great degree superseded, and commodities in consequence furnished at a much lower cost, and placed within the reach of a vastly greater number of consumers, it is amusing to read a grave debate in the house of commons, whether it might be practicable to lighten human labour by the introduction of machines of husbandry. Yet this was one considerable topic of the speech of Mr. Wilberforce; and about the same period Mrs.

* A feast given every May-day to chimney-sweepers by that benevolent lady.

Hannah More thus writes:—"Your project for relieving our poor slaves by machine-work is so far from being chimerical, that of three persons (including Mr. Wilberforce) deeply engaged in the cause, not one but has thought it rational and practicable, and that a plough might be so constructed as to save much misery. But I forget that negroes are not human beings, nor our fellow-creatures; but allowing the popular position, that they are not, still a feeling master would be glad to save his ox or his ass superfluous labour and unnecessary fatigue.'

Mr. Wilberforce, in closing his speech, laid down twelve propositions, which formed the basis of discussion in the house. The advocates of the slave-trade endeavoured, but in vain, to controvert and overthrow them. Among the speakers in favour of the abolition, Mr. Burke was conspicuous. He called upon his country nobly to give up the unjust gains arising from that traffic, and so to maintain the resolution of virtue, as to be content, though other nations should reap the profits which Britain had resigned. In his argument on the influence of slavery he observed, "Should I define a man, I would say with Shakspeare—

> "Man is a being holding large discourse,
> Looking before and after."

But a slave is incapable of looking before and after. He has no motive to do it. He is a mere passive instrument in the hands of others, to be used at their discretion. Though living, he is dead to all voluntary agency. Though moving amidst creation with an erect form, and with the shape and semblance of a human being, he is a nullity as a man." The rival statesmen, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, each spoke eloquently on the question. In

reply to some who proposed to regulate, rather than abolish, the slave-trade, Mr. Fox justly observed, that he knew of no such thing as a regulation of robbery and murder. This sentiment, however just, gave great umbrage to persons concerned in the continuance of the traffic, and was brought forward with great soreness on subsequent occasions. Attempts were made to injure the characters of those who had given evidence against the slave-trade, and the measures for its abolition were cried down as hypocritical, fanatic, and methodistical. But notwithstanding all the insidious attempts of the partizans of slavery to undermine the character, motives, and designs of their opponents, they could not stand against the examinations of truth; and although the cause of abolition had to encounter repeated apparent defeats, it was in reality gaining ground, and confounding its adversaries with their own weapons.

To the anxious vicissitudes of this period, a friend of abolition, repeatedly quoted, thus alludes: "How unkindly the opposition have treated Wilberforce! but he is not only of a very different spirit, but he would be a match for them at their own weapon—eloquence, of which few men have more, with as much wit as if he had no piety." "I did intend writing you a line on Wednesday, to have told you of the glorious and most promising opening of the great cause of abolition in the house of commons, but I could not find one moment's leisure, we had so much meeting, writing, and congratulation. The bishop of London fully intended to be the first to apprise me of this most interesting intelligence, and actually got up

so early as to write me a note at seven o'clock in the morning; but Lady Middleton forestalled him, by writing on Monday at midnight. Pitt and Fox united can do much."

This year the French Bastile was destroyed, and the Spanish Inquisition abolished. Remarking on these events, Miss More expressed her hope that she should yet live to see the redress of Africa accomplished; and added, that when she should have seen these *three great engines of the devil* destroyed, crushed, and exterminated, her three greatest wishes on this side heaven would be granted.

On the opposition which the great question met on the score of interest, she humourously remarked, that Lord North had said, The abolition of such a gainful traffic, where *all the reciprocity was on one side*, would be such a loss as no other merchandise could possibly repay.

At a rather later period she writes, alluding to an affair that had caused her great anxiety:—"Henry Thornton gave up every moment of his time, which was not engrossed by the other great cause—the abolition; alas! we have lost that cause for the present."

By the intrigue of its opposers, the business was dallied on, so as to gain the delay of a year, much to the grief and disappointment of the friends of humanity, who knew not how long hope was yet to be deferred, to the trial of their patience, zeal, and perseverance, if not to the sickening of their hearts. A bill, however, was carried, prepared by sir William Dolben and Mr. Wilberforce, which secured more attention to the claims of humanity in conveying the unhappy slaves.

About this time the laborious Clarkson issued an Essay on the comparative efficiency of Regulation or Abolition, as applied to the Slave-Trade. The committee also published a plan of a section of a slave-ship, shewing the cruel manner in which the wretched slaves were confined on their passage. This was widely circulated, and, as it gave a far more lively view of their sufferings than any description could convey, and produced an instantaneous impression of horror on all who saw it, it was very instrumental in serving the cause of the injured Africans.

This year died Ramsay, the first controversial writer on the subject of slavery, who had endured much persecution and malignity in consequence of his exposure of the horrible system, and his steady maintenance of the cause of truth and humanity. His latest efforts were in its behalf, and his languishing moments were cheered by the hope of its ultimate success, and the consciousness of having been enabled to do something towards its promotion.

When the session of parliament had closed, Clarkson again travelled to collect evidence. He visited France, in the hope of promoting the cause there. He remained there six months, and found many eminent persons deeply interested and enlightened in the cause. There seemed a flattering prospect, that, by their influence, much would have been effected; but these prospects were blighted by two circumstances—the Revolution in France, which became the all-engrossing subject of public attention—and the intrigues of colonists, and other persons interested in maintaining the odious traffic. During Clarkson's

residence in France, he was introduced to six deputies from St. Domingo, men of colour, who came from the coloured population of that island, to claim a participation in the rights of citizens, which were granted by the mother country to the white population. The blacks amounted to three times the number of the whites; they were, by law, equally free; they were generally proprietors of lands, and they paid their taxes to the mother country in equal proportion. But in consequence of having sprung from slaves, they had no legislative power, and were treated with great contempt. They justly desired to be put upon a full equality with whites, and to enjoy the full rights of citizens. These intelligent deputies observed to Clarkson, that the slave-trade was the parent of all the miseries in St. Domingo; not only on account of the cruel treatment it occasioned to the slaves, but on account of the invidious distinction, and consequent discord, it kept up between the whites and the people of colour. They felt assured that while the slave-trade existed, these distinctions could never be obliterated.

The reasonable expectations of the deputies were at first encouraged, and continued to be supported by the most able and intelligent statesmen of France; but the encouragement afforded them roused the opposition of all the white colonists in Paris. After considerable waiting for the attainment of their object, and frequent delays and disappointments, occasioned by the malignity of their enemies, and the difficulties which thwarted the endeavours of their friends, the deputies returned to St. Domingo without having effected their object.

Oppression will drive a wise man mad. In about three months afterwards an insurrection took place among the injured blacks, which issued in their throwing off the European yoke, and asserting their independency. This island is now a flourishing independent state, recognized as such by the various powers of Europe; but it is lamentable to say, that it arrived at independence through scenes of blood and massacre, instead of peaceably receiving its just claims of equality, which were denied it by the short-sighted policy of proud and selfish men, who chose to exasperate rather than to conciliate.

On Clarkson's return to England, he found Mr. Wilberforce and other friends still labouring for the cause in parliament, while its enemies continued, in every possible way, to thwart and oppose them. Still the cause was gaining ground in point of public interest. The amiable poet, Cowper, who had already severely condemned the slave-trade in his admirable poems, especially "Charity," and "The Task," now wrote three small poems against it. One of them, entitled "The Negro's Complaint," was very widely circulated. Many thousand copies of it were sent in franks throughout the country. It was afterwards set to music, and not only accompanied the piano-forte and harpsichord of the drawing-room and boarding-school, but was even sung as a ballad about the streets, and thus, in one way or other, produced its impression on every class of society. Another ingenious device was employed to excite feeling on behalf of the poor negro. Mr. Wedgewood, the proprietor of the extensive potteries called Etruria, in Staffordshire, and inventor of the ware that bears his

name, produced a beautiful cameo, modelled from the seal of the society (see p. 260). Many thousands of these were freely distributed by the liberal proprietor among his friends, and, in one way or other, so widely circulated, that perhaps scarcely a family could be found who did not possess one of these seals, or who had not received the impression on letters from their correspondents.

In 1790 Mr. Clarkson again traversed England to procure evidence; often disappointed where he expected most; for, in too many instances, interest, or the fear of offending friends, suppressed the voice of truth and justice. However, notwithstanding all the difficulty of procuring evidence on the side of the abolitionists, the whole evidence on both sides amounted to three folio volumes; these were abridged, condensed, and published by the committee, and the subject was again brought before parliament in April, 1791. Mr. Wilberforce not only ably maintained his former ground, but brought forward many new facts illustrative of the evils of the slave-trade, in all its various departments. He wound up his remarks on it in these emphatic words—"Here's the smell of blood on the hand still, and all the perfumes of Arabia cannot sweeten it." He then urged the friends of the cause to perseverance, secure of ultimate triumph, and pledged himself never, never to desist, until this scandal was wiped away from the christian name. This pledge he honourably redeemed, and that ultimate triumph he was privileged to witness. A spirited discussion ensued, in which many most appalling facts were brought forward by the advocates of abolition, which not all the sophistry of its enemies could

do away; but, on a division of the house, the question was lost by a majority of seventy-five votes. Disappointment and delay, however, could not damp the energies of those who had conscientiously devoted themselves to the sacred cause. Not a moment was given to unavailing regret, but they girded themselves for new efforts.

Notwithstanding the afflicting loss of the great question, one effort of the abolitionists in that session of parliament met with a better fate. A company was established, and received the sanction of parliament, called the Sierra Leone Company. Its object was to colonize a small portion of Africa, as an asylum for negro slaves obtaining their freedom by coming to England, and yet who were destitute of maintenance. Those who were to settle there were to have no concern with the slave-trade, but to do their utmost to discourage it. They were to endeavour to introduce a new species of commerce, and to promote the cultivation of land by free labour. The first colonists were chiefly negroes, with their wives and families, who, having followed the British arms in America, had been settled by the British government in Nova Scotia. The brother of Mr. Clarkson, who had essentially served the cause of abolition on many occasions, undertook the conduct of this business. He visited Nova Scotia, to see if any of these persons were willing to change their abode, and, in that case, to provide transports to convey them to Sierra Leone. A considerable number accepted the offer, and, with their wives and families, amounting to upwards of eleven hundred, were conveyed thither under the care of Lieut. Clarkson, who became the first

governor of the new colony. Having laid the foundation of it, he returned to England, and a successor was appointed. From many unexpected circumstances, especially the ravages of the French, a series of disasters attended the enterprize in the infancy of the colony, which issued in disappointment, as far as mercantile profit was concerned; but in far more important respects it has been ever since rising in importance. Schools have been established, places of worship erected, the arts of agriculture and the habits of civilized life established and exemplified. Thus it has proved as a centre from which useful knowledge, christian instruction, and general improvement, may be expected gradually to pervade the great continent of Africa. In furtherance of these objects, a society has long been in operation, called The African Institution, of which the late Duke of Gloucester (just deceased) was president, and which has received the support and patronage of most of the friends of the African cause, especially those who advocated it in parliament.

Notwithstanding the fluctuations of interest which the abolition question experienced in parliament, the people in general never ceased to feel a lively interest in it; and, from the time that parliament rejected the bill, many persons resolved on relinquishing the use of West India produce. Pamphlets were published by Mr. Crafton, of Tewksbury, and Mr. Fox, of London, urging, as a moral duty, the abstinence from those articles which were produced by slave labour, especially sugar and rum. This was considered a constitutional and peaceable measure, by which, if universal concurrence could be obtained, the people would have in their own hands a complete remedy

for the enormous evil of which they complained; for it was obvious that, if the consumption of West India produce ceased, West India proprietors would no longer have the inducement to procure and employ slaves, or the means of doing so. Many persons conscientiously adopted this plan of self-denial. In gentlemen's families, the example of the heads was voluntarily followed by children and servants; and, in some instances, children, having heard of the sufferings endured by Africans in cultivating the sweet cane, with whose juice they had been accustomed to please their palates, resolutely abstained from it, and introduced into whole families the system of abstinence. Even grocers, in some places, forbore to traffic in the gainful article. Mr. Clarkson, who, in 1792, took another extensive tour in the cause, computed that not less than three hundred thousand persons in England had conscientiously abandoned the use of sugar. Beside this, committees were formed, public meetings were held, and petitions to parliament, numerously signed, were sent from various parts of England and Scotland. Scarcely a day passed, or a paper could be looked into, which did not announce a public meeting for some place or other. Great pains were taken by interested persons, but in vain, to prevent or to crush these meetings. In London a remarkable instance of this kind occurred. The livery of the city had been long waiting for the common council to begin a petition, but the Lord Mayor and several of the aldermen opposed and stifled it. The liverymen, however, were determined, even at the last pinch, to have a meeting, and, though the notice was short,

a greater number of persons assembled than was remembered on any former occasion. In spite of opposition, a petition was carried, numerously signed, and within half an hour afterwards was in the house of commons for presentation, on the very day that Mr. Wilberforce was to make a new motion on the subject. The petitions presented on this occasion strongly marked the feeling of the country. There were *four* against all abolition, *one* for regulation rather than abolition, and *five hundred and nineteen* for the total abolition of the trade. Mr. Wilberforce, in the course of his speech, brought forward a number of incontestible and appalling facts, which fully established the worst that had ever been said of the slave-trade. Several admirable speeches were made on the occasion, especially by Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, the latter of whom continued his speech till six o'clock in the morning. The result of this debate was, that eighty-five members voted against any abolition at all; for immediate abolition, one hundred and twenty-five; and for gradual abolition, one hundred and ninety-three. It was therefore taken as the sense of the house, that the trade ought to be gradually abolished. This was on the 2d of April. On the 23d the subject was again brought under consideration, in a sketch of a bill, by Mr. Dundas, proposing immediately to abolish that part of the trade, by which Britain supplied foreigners with slaves, and the remainder, viz. the importation of slaves into our own islands, after the expiration of seven years, or from the first of January, 1800. Mr. Pitt, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Fox, Lord Mornington, (afterwards Marquis Wel-

lesley,) warmly opposed the proposal, declaring that between right and wrong there could be no compromise; that if it would be unjust and wrong to sacrifice Africa to the interests of the West Indies seven or ten years hence, it would be so now; besides, it was already clearly proved, that no such interest would be sacrificed by immediate abolition of the trade. It was strongly endeavoured to carry that desirable object into immediate effect; but, after repeated trials, it was at length agreed upon, that the abolition should take place in 1796. This was by no means satisfactory to the enlightened friends of the cause, and it proved altogether abortive; for, during the delay occasioned by bringing fresh evidence before the house of lords, when it became necessary for the commons to renew their vote, it was cast out by a majority of eight. This was in February, 1793.

Mr. Wilberforce, however, resolved that the session should not pass without another attempt to bring forward the great cause. He, therefore, in the ensuing May, moved for leave to bring in a bill to abolish that part of the slave-trade, by which British merchants supplied foreigners with slaves. This bill passed its first and second readings with but little opposition; but notwithstanding the eloquence of Pitt and Fox, aided by the zeal and ability of others, it was lost by two votes. The question, meanwhile, had to encounter much opposition in the lords, from some who did not live to witness its ultimate triumph, in spite of their puny efforts to oppose it; and from other distinguished individuals, who happily lived to honour the men they once despised, to sanction the measures they once opposed, and to rejoice in conferring

on Africans the boon of liberty, of which they had not then considered the value or the right.

In the following spring, 1794, Mr. Wilberforce again brought in a bill to the same purport as the former, which was carried through the house of commons, after much opposition, but was finally lost in the lords. This was the most desperate period in the history of the abolition; there seemed little or no hope of success, except, indeed, in the one grand and never-failing basis of hope—the goodness of the cause, and the supreme controul of the righteous Governor of the universe, who frequently, in the mysterious dispensations of His providence, seems to shut up every visible door of hope. Yet, even in circumstances the most discouraging, those who have been the longest and closest observers of His movements, are accustomed to expect his interposition in the last extremity, just as the Red Sea was opened for the passage of the Israelites when surrounded with insurmountable difficulties. Hence such observers are accustomed devoutly to say, "I will wait for the Lord, who hideth himself from the house of Israel."

In addition to parliamentary discouragements, the health of the laborious and generous Clarkson, which had long suffered from his unparalleled exertions, completely gave way, and, to use his own expression, he was obliged, though very reluctantly, to be borne out of the field, where he had placed the great honour and glory of his life. One great source of anxiety and distress to him was, the injury and persecution sustained by those, who, at his instance, had given evidence on the question, and who regarded him as the author of their ruin; but, to make his mind easy on this subject, a noble

friend to the cause, the late Samuel Whitbread, Esq., generously undertook to make good all such injuries, which he fulfilled at a great expence.

In 1795, Mr. Wilberforce attempted to bring in a bill, which was necessary to confirm the previous resolution of the house, that the slave-trade should cease in 1796, but it was lost by a majority of twenty-one.

In 1796, he renewed his efforts for the abolition of the trade in 1797. After considerable promise of success, the bill was ultimately lost by a majority of four.

In 1797 two bills were brought forward for the improvement of the condition of the negroes, in order to the gradual removal of the slave-trade; but these half measures could neither satisfy the friends, nor conciliate the enemies, of liberty, and both attempts failed.

In 1798, Mr. Wilberforce again renewed his efforts, supported by all his old friends, and by several new ones, whose names were afterwards distinguished in the annals of abolition; George Canning, who, in 1827, died prime minister of the realm; Sir Robert Buxton, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Bouverie, and others; but the measure was defeated by four votes.

Undismayed by disappointment, the indefatigable philanthropist, in 1799, renewed his motion, but was vehemently opposed, even by those who had professed themselves friendly to gradual abolition, and had even originated the measure; a full proof of the correctness of Mr. Pitt's opinion, that those who wished to *protract* the period, whatever their professions, in reality wished to uphold the system; and that there could be no real objection against

immediate abolition, that would not remain with equal force, ten, twenty, or a hundred years later. The measure was lost by eight.

After the failure of this motion for the general abolition of the slave-trade, Mr. Henry Thornton brought in a bill to confine it within certain limits. The direct object of this measure was the safety and prosperity of the colony at Sierra Leone, which had been endangered and interrupted by the horrid traffic. This bill passed through the commons, but was thrown out in the lords, notwithstanding the able support of Lord Grenville, who introduced it; Lord Loughborough, Lord Holland, and the Bishop of Rochester, who made an eloquent and argumentative speech. Thus the question had been tried in almost every possible way, and yet had been eventually lost. It was now considered prudent not again to bring it forward as a regular annual measure, but to wait until some new circumstance should favour its introduction; accordingly, four years were suffered to pass by without any particular motion on the subject, Mr. Wilberforce still taking every opportunity of assuring the house that he had not grown cool in the cause, but would agitate it on a future occasion. The year 1804 was fixed on for renewing the attempt. The union with Ireland was now effected, the Irish members had taken their seat in the British parliament, and most of them were known to be friendly to the cause. The committee of the society had now added to its list several names, which have been ever since honourably allied with the cause, and supported it with their talents, their influence, their property, most of them in parliament, and some by their literary productions:—James Stephen, Esq. brother-

in-law to Wilberforce, and author of several valuable and important works on slavery, Zachary Macaulay, Esq., Henry Brougham, Esq., (now Lord Brougham,) William Phillips, Robert Grant, and John Thornton, Esqrs., and William Allen of the benevolent Society of Friends.

In March, 1804, Mr. Wilberforce brought in his bill, which passed the commons with a great majority, but in the lords the discussion was postponed to the next year. Lord Teignmouth (afterwards president of the British and Foreign Bible Society) became a supporter of this noble cause, and one of the committee for its advancement; as also Dr. Dickson, who had traversed Scotland in its behalf, and Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Birkbeck.

In 1805 Mr. Wilberforce renewed his motion of the former year; it met a violent opposition, and was ultimately lost; a matter of severe disappointment to the friends of the cause, whose expectations were sanguine after the great majority of the past year. It appeared, however, that the defeat might be traced to a too confident persuasion that all was safe, which encouraged *nine* members, who, for sixteen years had never been absent when the question was agitated, to give way to other engagements on the day of the motion. It was lost by *seven;* a striking warning against relaxing exertions, however apparently secure of success, in an important object, until success is actually attained. That is a wise maxim, "Reckon nothing done, while aught remains to do."

Lord Henry Petty, (now Marquis of Lansdowne,) a warm and enlightened friend to the

cause, later in the session, gave notice of bringing in a bill of the same import as that of Mr. Wilberforce, but the pressure of business prevented. The next year, however, it seemed almost certain that, with proper care and attention, the measure would be carried. It was possible that the Lords might again insist on hearing evidence. The former witnesses were either dead or dispersed, and Clarkson, whose health, after nine years suspension, had now rallied, set forth in quest of new witnesses. Considerable success attended the immediate object of his journey. He had also the pleasure of finding the old friends of the cause firm; and the rising generation, although but scantily informed on the subject, yet profoundly attentive, and desirous of knowing more. Information judiciously imparted would soon kindle up their youthful energy, and raise up a host of ardent, enlightened, and generous spirits, to fill the ranks as they were gradually thinned by death, and carry on the great and glorious conflict on behalf of injured Africa.

In January, 1806, the cause lost a steady friend and able advocate in Mr. Pitt. He had not, indeed, effected all that had been hoped from the weight of his influence and the elevated and important station which he filled, but there is every reason to conclude that "he did what he could," and that his better wishes and desires were thwarted by opposing circumstances and feelings beyond his control. When the subject was first brought before him, he deliberately inquired into its merits, and when satisfied, professed himself a friend to abolition. As early as 1788 he endeavoured to

effect an union between the governments of France and England for the promotion of the measure; but the result was not favourable, and his efforts in consequence were confined more immediately to his own country. In parliament he was, year after year, the active, strenuous, and consistent defender of the cause. His official authority he employed in granting information, documents, and other facilities to those who laboured in investigating the subject. The civilization of Africa was a measure very near his heart. He considered the best efforts of Britain on this behalf as a debt of justice due to that continent for the many evils we had inflicted on it, and had projected some noble designs for that object, to which his own death put a period. It is hard to convince persons unacquainted with the secret springs of government, that a prime minister cannot do everything; and such were ready to entertain a doubt of Mr. Pitt's sincerity in the cause, from its not having earlier attained the consummation they desired. But had he not been its friend; had he in his public situation set himself against it, and strengthened the hands of those who opposed it, humanly speaking there is every reason to believe that it would have been crushed in its infancy, instead of having attained a vigorous maturity, and being prepared for an early triumph under his successors, who were placed in more favourable circumstances.

On the death of Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox took the lead in the administration. Shortly afterwards the slave-trade question was brought into parliament with encouraging prospect of success. The first measure proposed was

to give effect to a proclamation of the preceding year, by which British merchants were forbidden to import slaves into colonies conquered by the British arms in the course of the war. The next was to prohibit British subjects from being engaged in importing slaves into the colonies of any foreign power, whether hostile or neutral; and the third to prohibit British subjects and British capital from being employed in carrying on the slave-trade in foreign ships, and the outfit of foreign ships from British ports. This bill was introduced by Sir A. Piggott, the attorney-general; it passed the commons by a majority of thirty-five to twenty-two, and the lords by forty-three to eighteen. During the discussion, both Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox declared, in their respective houses of parliament, that they felt the question of the slave-trade to be one which involved the dearest interests of humanity, and the most urgent claims of policy, justice, and religion; and that should they succeed in effecting its abolition, they should regard that success as entailing more true glory on their administration, and greater honour and advantage on their country, than any other measure in which they could be engaged. Mr. Fox also declared, that since he had sat in the house, a period of between thirty and forty years, had he only been instrumental in carrying that measure, he should think his life well spent, and should retire satisfied that he had not lived in vain.

This bill might be said to effect the dismemberment of the cruel trade. Its death blow was reserved for another session of parliament. It was thought proper, however, that each house

should record those principles on which, in the ensuing session, a measure might be properly grounded for the total abolition of the slave-trade. The resolution proposed in the house of commons by Mr. Fox, pronounced the slave-trade to be contrary to all the principles of justice, humanity, and policy, and pledged the house to take the earliest possible measures for effectually abolishing it. A smart discussion ensued, in which all the old arguments were brought forward by the opponents of abolition, and triumphantly answered by its friends. At the close, one hundred and fourteen were in favour of the proposed resolution, and only fifteen against it. Immediately after this division, Mr. Wilberforce moved an address to the king, praying him to direct a negociation to be entered into, by which foreign powers should be invited to co-operate in measures for the universal abolition of the slave-trade. This was carried without a division.

The resolution and address were then communicated to the lords, and their concurrence in them desired. Lord Grenville introduced and supported the motion in a most able and interesting speech, fully proving from facts the injustice, inhumanity, and impolicy of the slave-trade. The Bishop of London answered some arguments and objections, falsely grounded on the toleration of slavery among the Jews, and on some precepts of obedience found in the New Testament, which he observed were eagerly seized as a handle for supporting slavery, by persons little accustomed to regulate their general conduct by the authority of scripture. Among other able supporters of the measure were the Lord Chancellor Erskine, Dr.

Horsley, Bishop of St. Asaph, Lord Holland, Earl Stanhope, Earl Grosvenor, and Lord Ellenborough. The resolution was carried by a majority of forty-one to twenty, and the address to the king without a division. One more preliminary measure was necessary to complete the proceedings of this session, and to prevent the dreadful excess of rapine and cruelty, to which the exasperated slave-merchants would be driven by the conviction that their time was short, and that they were gathering their last harvest. This was a bill to prevent the fitting out of any vessel in the slave-trade which had not been heretofore employed in the service. But for this precaution, every vessel that could have been procured would doubtless have been employed in the slave-trade for the few short months before it would become absolutely illegal.

Joy, gratitude, and hope, now filled the breasts of the friends of humanity. But, as the darkest of mortal scenes is cheered by some glimmering ray of light, so the brightest is interrupted by some gloomy cloud. In Oct. 1806, Fox, the brilliant statesman, the warm, and steady, and influential friend of abolition, was numbered with the dead, before the completion of the object on which his heart was set. When the resolution above-mentioned was in contemplation, and Mr. Fox was mentioned as the fittest person to introduce it, he readily consented, and declared that, in whatever situation he might be, he would use his warmest efforts for the promotion of this righteous cause. When the measure which succeeded that resolution, viz. the bill to prevent any new vessel being employed in the trade was proposed, it was suggested to Mr. Fox, that, being late in the session,

it had perhaps better be delayed, lest the houses of parliament should be wearied by such frequently repeated motions on one subject; but he replied, (if not with prophetic foresight, which the event confirmed,) with sagacity and decision worthy of imitation in all who have important duties devolving upon them, either for themselves or others, that he believed both houses were disposed to get rid of the trade; that his own life was precarious; that if he omitted to serve the injured Africans on this occasion, he might have no other opportunity of doing it, and that he dared not, under these circumstances, neglect so great a duty. "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might, for there is neither work, nor knowledge, nor device in the grave, whither thou goest." From this period the health of the great man rapidly declined; but when removed by pain and sickness from the discussion of political subjects, he never forgot this cause. "Two things," said he on his death-bed, "I wish earnestly to see accomplished —peace with Europe, and the abolition of the slave-trade; but of the two I wish the latter." These sentiments he frequently repeated, and the hope of abolition quivered on his lips in the last hour of his life.

In 1807 the great question was again agitated, and happily for the last time. Contrary to the usual practice, it was first brought before the lords by Lord Grenville, in the form of "A Bill for the Abolition of the Slave-trade." Two days afterwards, four counsel were heard against the measure, and the day following Lord Grenville opened the debate with great ability, and was supported by the Duke of Gloucester, the Bishop

of Durham, (Dr. Barrington,) the Earls Meira, Selkirk, and Rosslyn; and Lords Holland, King, and Hood. The debate lasted till four o'clock in the morning, when the votes in favour of the bill proved to be one hundred, and those against it thirty-six.

The month following the bill was sent down to the Commons. When counsel had been heard against it, and the question had been put for its commitment, Lord Viscount Howick, now the venerable Earl Grey, made an eloquent and powerful speech in favour of the cause. He was supported by Mr. Roscoe, Mr. Lushington, Mr. Fawkes, Lord Mahon, Lord Milton, (now Earl Fitzwilliam,) Sir John Doyle, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Wilberforce, and Earl Percy; names, most of which have been since familiarized in association with every liberal and benevolent measure. On the division, there appeared in favour of the bill two hundred and eighty-three, against it only sixteen; the largest majority that had ever been announced. It seemed, indeed, the triumph of truth and liberality over interest and prejudice, for several old opponents of the righteous cause went away unable to vote against it, while others of them staid in their places, and voted in its favour. In its several stages the bill had to encounter some slight attempts to clog its freedom, or to retard its operations, but it ultimately passed without a division. It enacted, that no ship should clear out for slaves from any port within the British dominions after the 1st of May, 1807; and that no slave should be landed in the colonies after March 1st, 1808. The bill having thus passed the commons, was carried to the lords by

Lord Howick and Mr. Wilberforce. Lord Grenville, on receiving it, urged the utmost expedition in getting it printed and sanctioned by the lords; for it had yet one important stage through which to pass, that of receiving the royal assent; and as it was strongly rumoured that the existing ministry was about to be displaced, great apprehensions were entertained that, should that event take place before the signature was obtained, the cause might again be thrown into uncertainty and delay; as it was well known that among the constituents of the projected new ministry were several who had shown a hostile disposition towards the cause. Accordingly, the bill which had been brought from the commons on the 18th of March, was printed and ready for discussion, on its amendments by the lords on the 23d. Lord Grenville immediately brought it forward. It encountered some opposition, but was ably supported by the Duke of Norfolk and Bishop of Llandaff, the latter of whom said this great act of justice would be recorded in heaven. The amendments were severally adopted without a division; but an omission of three words was discovered, which, if not rectified, would defeat the object of the bill. An amendment was immediately proposed and carried for the insertion of these three words, viz. "country, territory, or place." On the 24th it was sent back to the commons for their assent to the addition of the three words, then back to the lords as approved of, on the same day. On the 25th the ministry was dissolved. At half-past eleven in the morning, the members of the ministry were summoned to deliver up their seals of office. It then appeared that a commission for the royal

assent to this bill, among others, had been obtained. The commission was instantly opened by the Lord Chancellor Erskine, and executed as the clock struck twelve. The ceremony being over, the seals of office were resigned. Thus the last act of the administration of Lord Grenville "was the establishment of a Magna Charta for Africa in Britain." And the virtuous and successful exertions of that ministry in behalf of the oppressed African race, will pass to posterity, and live in the love and gratitude of mankind.

SECT. XIX.—MEASURES TOWARDS THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

The abolition of the slave-trade was a matter of cordial rejoicing to all the friends of humanity, and called forth expressions of devout gratitude to Him who had inspired their hearts with benevolent ardour, who had enabled them to persevere in spite of all opposition and discouragement, and who had ultimately crowned their efforts with success. The press teemed with sermons, addresses, and almost every variety of literary effort in congratulation and commemoration of this great and glorious event. Clarkson, the indefatigable labourer in the sacred cause, no sooner witnessed its triumph, than he produced a modest record of the arduous toils by which, under the blessing of Heaven, it was at length achieved. His work is entitled, "A History of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade," in two vols. 8vo. He who having been so instrumental in effecting the work, could contrive so much to keep himself out of sight, discovers such a union

of christian humility and magnanimity, as eminently qualifies him to enjoy an infinitely higher reward than the applause of mortals, in the success of his cause, the testimony of his conscience, and the approbation of his God; and when the *greater* is conscientiously pursued, the *lesser* follows unsought. Such names as those of Sharpe and Clarkson are not permitted to steal into oblivion, any more than the fragrance of the violet can be suppressed by the leaves under which it hides its modest beauties.

Another permanent record of the glorious event is preserved in an elegant publication by a late talented and spirited artist and publisher, R. Bowyer, Esq. Pall Mall. Desiring that the illustrious act of the British legislature should be popularly commemorated by a tribute of British genius, he engaged in his cause the allied arts of poetry and painting, and produced a splendid volume, which he dedicated to the Duke of Gloucester, and the society of which that illustrious prince was the patron. The work comprises three poems: the first, by James Montgomery, entitled "The West Indies;" the second, by James Grahame, entitled "Africa Delivered;" the third, by E. Benger, entitled "A Poem occasioned by the Abolition of the Slave-Trade." The embellishments are from paintings by R. Smirke; they comprise busts of Wilberforce, Sharpe, and Clarkson; a vignette of the fable of Prometheus delivered, to which there are explanatory lines by Montgomery; and nine other beautiful engravings, illustrative of the sentiments of the poems.

But though the slave-trade and its horrors were done away, as far as the laws of Great Britain

could effect it, it could not be lost sight of by the friends of humanity, that their triumph was incomplete, while personal and hereditary slavery continued to exist in the colonies of the British empire. It was indeed fondly hoped, that the great measure of 1807,-accomplished after a twenty years' struggle, would have tended rapidly to the mitigation and gradual extinction of negro bondage in those colonies. But year after year elapsed, and a degree of supineness prevailed; people seemed to think that in obtaining the abolition of the slave-trade, they had done all that devolved upon them to do. If the subject was referred to, it was generally met by an expression of triumph and gratitude in that achievement, accompanied with too little disposition to farther inquiries which should disturb the repose of satisfaction. Some few, however, more enlightened and ardent spirits, or who had had peculiar opportunities of observing, or of ascertaining the real state of things, were continually stirred with a conviction that, after a lapse of sixteen years from the abolition of the slave-trade, slavery and all its ills existed almost with undiminished prevalence, notwithstanding occasional improvements in the colonial government, with a view to the advantage of the slave.

Of these improvements, one of the most important was the Registry Bill, in 1816, introduced by Mr. Wilberforce, and carried, through the greatest opposition from the colonists and their partisans. Its object was to prevent the illicit importation of slaves from Africa. The measure was ably defended by Mr. Stephen, in letters to Wilberforce. The local knowledge and high professional character of this gentleman qualified him to discuss

such a subject, and claimed for him a respectful attention on the part of the public.

Several other valuable publications tended to draw the public attention to the subject, especially Pinckard's Notes on the West Indies, 1815; Collins's Professional Planter, 1804; Dixon's Mitigation of Slavery, 1814; Watson's Defence of Methodist Missions, 1816; Cropper's Letters to Wilberforce, 1822; Wilberforce's Appeal to Religion, Justice, and Humanity, 1823; Negro Slavery in the United States and in the West Indies, especially in Jamaica, 1823; besides the Reports of the African Institution, and other kindred societies, and some pamphlets on the comparative expense of free and slave labour.

Under the conviction thus produced, in 1823 a society was formed "for the mitigation and gradual abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions." Will it be considered tedious and uninteresting to detail the names of those who formed this society? No: it will be interesting and gratifying to observe some names with which we have long been familiar, as fathers of the sacred cause, still animated in the evening of life with undiminished ardour for its prosecution and extension; and to observe others rising up to strengthen their hands, to pursue the arduous struggle, and finally to experience the joy of extended success.

PATRON AND PRESIDENT.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

The Most Noble the Marquis of Lansdowne,	The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Bristol,

The Rt. Hon. Earl Nugent,
The Rt. Hon. Lord Suffield,
The Rt. Hon. Lord Calthorpe,
Sir James Mackintosh, M.P.
Henry Brougham, Esq., M.P.
Jos. Butterworth, Esq., M.P.
Thos. Fowell Buxton, Esq., M.P.
Thomas Clarkson, Esq.
William Dillwyn, Esq.
William Evans, Esq., M.P.
George Harrison, Esq.
Stephen Lushington, LL.D., M.P.
W. T. Money, Esq., M.P.
William Smith, Esq., M.P.
James Stephen, Esq.
Samuel Charles Whitbread, Esq., M.P.
W. W. Whitmore, Esq., M.P.
William Wilberforce, Esq., M.P.

TREASURER.

Samuel Hoare, Jun., Esq.

COMMITTEE.

William Allen, Esq.
T. G. Babington, Esq.
G. G. Babington, Esq.
David Barclay, Esq.
Charles Barclay, Esq.
A. R. Barclay, Esq.
Peter Bedford, Esq.
Robert Benson, Esq.
Rev. Jabez Bunting,
Edward Carroll, Esq.
William Crawford, Esq.
James Cropper, Esq.
Joseph Dimsdale, Esq.
John Elliot, Esq.
T. F. Forster, Esq.
Ed. Forster, Esq.
B. M. Forster, Esq.
Robert Forster, Esq.
W. A. Garrett, Esq.
Samuel Gurney, Esq.
W. J. Hathaway, Esq.
Luke Howard, Esq.
Edmund Jansen, Esq.
Zachary Macaulay, Esq.
T. B. Macaulay, Esq.
Henry Newman, Esq.
George Stacey, Esq.
W. Foster Reynolds, Esq.
Robert Simpson, Esq.
Thomas Sturge, Esq.
Henry Thornton, Esq.
Rev. H. Venn,
Henry Waymouth, Esq.
Wm. Wilberforce, Jun., Esq.

SECRETARY.

W. L. Hanbury, Esq.

In March, 1823, this society commenced its operations by calling the attention of the public

to existing circumstances, and by pledging themselves, as men, as christians, and as patriots, in their separate and collective capacities, to endeavour, by all prudent and lawful means, to mitigate and eventually to abolish colonial slavery throughout the British dominions. The first and most obvious means of carrying these objects into effect, was the obtaining and diffusing information on the subject; with this view they shortly afterwards published "A brief View of the Nature and Effects of Negro Slavery, as existing in the Colonies of Great Britain." In this was stated the appalling fact, that upwards of 800,000 human beings were held in a state of degrading personal slavery. Among the wretched features of their condition the following are enumerated. Being the absolute property of a fellow-man; liable to be sold or transferred at his pleasure; placed at his discretion as to the measure of labour, food, and punishment; branded like cattle with a hot iron, and thus retaining, in indelible characters, the proof of their servile state; driven to labour by the cart-whip; at certain seasons compelled to labour, not only the whole day, but also half the night; having no claim on their masters for wages; obliged to labour for their own maintenance on the sabbath-day; liable to be punished at the irresponsible discretion of their master or his agents; regarded as mere chattels, and liable to be sold for their master's debts; denied the legal sanction of marriage; having little or no access to the means of christian instruction; liable to be separated from every family tie; incapable of giving evidence in a court of law against a white person; having every obstacle thrown in the way

of obtaining freedom; liberty, if obtained, in great danger of being lost; their very skin being presumed an evidence of slavery in the absence of positive proof to the contrary; and, finally, the perpetuation of the wretched inheritance of slavery to their offspring.

On these facts the society grounded its appeal that some effectual steps should be taken for mitigating the rigours of negro bondage, or for putting an end to a condition so grievously outraging every feeling of humanity, and violating every principle both of the British constitution and of the christian religion. Even admitting the possibility of some danger or inconvenience arising from immediately liberating all the actual victims of the slave-trade, or their adult descendants, yet the committee urged that no satisfactory reason could be assigned why, since the abolition of the trade, children should continue to inherit the unhappy condition of their parents, which was admitted to be an unjust infliction. They also felt justly convinced, that no institution so directly at variance with the will of the supreme Governor of the universe could prove a source of permanent advantage, either to nations or individuals; but that slavery was as detrimental to the interests of the slave-owner, as cruel and oppressive to the slave, and that its abolition would prove an unspeakable benefit to both. The colonists, indeed, alleged that they should sustain a great actual loss by such a change in the system. This, however, remained for proof; and if any such injury were sustained, their claim for redress lay not with the already injured negro, but with the British people. This train of argument is successfully followed up in

Clarkson's admirable pamphlet, "Thoughts on the Necessity," &c. Having first admitted the defeat of the sanguine hopes formerly entertained, that the abolition of the slave-trade would lead to the humane and enlightened treatment of slaves, and ultimately to their emancipation, he goes on to say, that, for the redress of the grievances which yet oppressed the injured African, it was in vain to look to West Indian legislature, the remedy could only be sought from a British parliament. He then proves that the planters can neither prove a moral nor a legal right in their slaves. Those of the slaves who were native Africans, were obtained by fraud or violence, and then sold; but as such a transaction could not deprive them of their own right in themselves, it could not confer that right on another. Birth could not confer it, because freedom is the native birthright of every rational creature; and if parents were subjected to slavery as a reparation for injury, or a punishment for crime, the infant had no part in the injury or the criminality; the master of the parent has no claim on him. Then, man's individual accountability proves that he cannot justly be so placed under the will of another, as to be compelled by him to do that which is in itself immoral and sinful; a compulsion frequently practised by slave masters, with the infliction of severe punishment, in case of disobedience on the part of the slave. He then brings the slave-holder's claim to the test of original grants, or permissions of government, acts of parliament, charters, or English laws. It has already been clearly shown, (pp. 111, 113,) that neither the African slave-trade nor West Indian slavery would have been allowed at

first, but for the misrepresentations and falsehoods of those engaged in them. The governments of Europe were made to believe that the Africans *voluntarily* quitted their own land *for their own benefit*, and that those who conveyed them were actuated by a benevolent desire and intention to *better* their circumstances, and to instruct them in the *christian religion*. It is, therefore, a well authenticated fact in history, that the original government grants and permission had their origin in fraud and falsehood; and if the *premises* fall, all conclusions and concessions grounded on them must fall too. Then as to *charters*—slavery had indeed been upheld and kept together by the laws which those charters gave the colonists the power to make: that very slavery, nevertheless, was illegal, for in all the charters it was expressed that the laws and statutes to be made under them must not be repugnant but conformable to the laws of Great Britain. We all know, by our happy experience, that Great Britain has no law which will sanction the sale of a human being; the forcing another to work without wages and without choice of his master; or the punishment of one human being at the caprice of another. Indeed, the very slave-holders themselves admitted, that, if debarred of whatever was repugnant to the laws of England, they did not see how they could have any title to their slaves likely to be supported by the laws of England. In fact, the colonial system was at constant variance with the whole spirit and letter of the English constitution.

Mr. Clarkson then urges the obligation to release these slaves, not when it is convenient to Britain to spare them, but when they can be re-

leased with safety to themselves. By appealing to facts, he proves that emancipation would at that time be found practicable, safe, and advantageous to all the parties concerned. The facts to which he alludes, as having occurred within forty years, were the emancipation of a body of negro slaves, amounting to upwards of 2000, who had run away from their North American masters, and joined the British army during the American war. They were settled in Nova Scotia as British subjects and free men. On account of the prejudices of the white population, they were afterwards removed to Halifax, and distributed through the country. They acquired the arts of life, supported themselves by their industry, and were quiet and peaceable neighbours. In process of time they embraced christianity, built places of worship, and had ministers from their own body. They afterwards emigrated to Sierra Leone. In 1814, when for a short time hostilities existed between England and America, some hundreds of negroes joined the British standard in the same manner; at the close of the campaign they were taken to Trinidad, to be employed as free labourers. The planters objected, assured that no negro would work, even for hire, and that if settled there as free men they would subsist by plunder. The governor, Sir Ralph Woodford, resisted these prejudices, and resolved on trying the experiment. The result was most satisfactory; these emancipated slaves laboured with industry, and maintained a peaceable demeanour and general good conduct, which entirely refuted the calumnies raised against their race. A third case comprehended several hundreds of negroes who had

formed the West Indian black regiments, and who, in 1819, were disbanded, liberated, and conveyed to Sierra Leone, where, on lands given them by government, they had founded several flourishing villages, and were deemed a valuable addition to the colony. Another case adduced was that of captured negroes, *i. e.* the cargoes of slave-ships captured at different times since the slave-trade became illegal. These were landed at Sierra Leone, in companies of from fifty to three or four hundred at a time, and immediately made free, and encouraged to cultivate the habits of civilized society. The whole number amounted to about 14,000, and their general conduct, habits, and manners, were most satisfactory. The other cases were those of St. Domingo, where nearly 500,000 persons were made free at once, and where it was satisfactorily proved that all the tumults that had arisen preceeded not from the impartation of freedom, but from subsequent oppressive attempts to take it away; and that the whole population, consisting of free blacks, were living in peace and prosperity, under wise and equitable laws of their own framing. A sixth example of emancipation was in Columbia, in America. The patriotic General Bolivar began by making free his own slaves, to the number of six or seven hundred; and afterwards representing the case to congress at Venezula, obtained a decree for the emancipation of all slaves who had assisted in achieving the independence of the republic; for the freedom of all children thereafter born of slaves; and for a tax on property, to form a fund for purchasing the freedom of adult slaves, priority being given according to character. The work of liberation went steadily

on, and the liberated slaves were peaceably at work through the republic, as well the newly enfranchised as those originally free.

In addition to these instances, some interesting facts are recorded of individual liberality and justice being exercised, not only with safety, but with abundant advantage to the interest of the proprietor. A Mr. Steele, having large estates in Barbadoes, which proved very unprofitable under the management of others, went over himself, at nearly eighty years of age. He immediately substituted a system of kindness and rewards for that of cruelty and punishment. He took away the whips, which caused the white overseers to resign, and established a sort of magistracy among the negroes themselves, appointing the elder negroes as superintendents, and made it their charge to establish and enforce obedience and industry. In case of offences, they were tried by a jury of negroes, in the presence of their master, or the new overseer, to whom also were made daily or occasional reports of the conduct of each gang. This treatment gave them a sense of dignity and respectability.

Mr. Steele next made an experiment of the voluntary system. He offered a small pecuniary reward to as many as would undertake to perform a certain quantity of holeing (the most laborious work) daily. By this plan, six negroes performed with ease what had been reckoned a hardship for eighteen, and had an hour each evening to spare. This plan was as profitable to the master as it was satisfactory to the servant, as it was a saving of the *season*, which is a most important object, of which we may form some idea,

by the eagerness of the English farmer, at seed-time and harvest, to get his work done at the exact time; but our ideas are very inadequate of the importance attached to the shortness of the period in which the work can be accomplished in those hot climates, and the difference in the harvest, whether a certain process was completed in six days or ten.

This venerable and benevolent proprietor proceeded still farther; in fact, adopted a measure which went to altering the very condition of the slaves, and placing them somewhat on the footing of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors in feudal times. This was to form his plantation into manors, and register all his adult slaves as copyholders, to each of whom he gave separate tenements of land, sufficient, with industry, for their comfortable maintenance, and descendible to their heirs. In return for this, they were to give him 260 days' labour, or an equivalent rent, reserving the remainder entirely to themselves, or if working for their master, at regular wages. The result of his benevolent scheme was highly satisfactory. He was spared to the age of ninety-one to witness the growing comfort and civilization of his negroes, when governed by *fixed laws*, instead of arbitrary controul, and stimulated to industry by the hope of advantage. He brought them to that condition from which he was sure they might safely be transferred to the rank of freemen, and probably would have proceeded to that crowning act of liberality and justice, had his life been yet further prolonged. The happiness he conferred was his highest reward, but the weight of argument from his example with West Indian planters lay in the

fact, that, on his new system, *the income cleared from the estate was more than three times what it had been before.* This was a posing answer to the oft reiterated objection, that any approach to emancipation, or elevation of the negro in the scale of society, was fraught with danger and ruin to his employer. Mr. Clarkson concludes his pamphlet by expressing his desire that the West Indians might be convinced, if possible, that they would be benefited by the proposed change. "They must already know, both by past and present experience, that the wages of unrighteousness are not profitable. Let them not doubt, since the Almighty has decreed the balance in favour of virtuous actions, that their efforts under the new system will work together for their good."

The circulation of the society's various publications produced a deep interest and extensive effect; for, in a very short time, 230 petitions were spontaneously addressed to parliament, from various parts of the country, praying for the mitigation and gradual extinction of slavery; and the multiplication of similar petitions was only prevented by the parliamentary discussion of the measure, which took place May 15, 1823. On that day Mr. Buxton made a motion to the following effect:—"That the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British constitution, and of the christian religion, and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British dominions, with as much expedition as may be consistent with due regard to the well being of all the parties concerned." Had this motion been agreed to, it was the intention of Mr. Buxton, as he stated in his speech, to follow

it up with a bill or bills, which should do away at once all the most palpable and cruel abuses practised upon the slaves; provide for their moral and religious instruction; facilitate and encourage their manumission; and secure to their offspring the birthright of freedom. It must have been interesting and affecting to see the comparatively youthful senator step forward and consecrate his energies to the great cause, while the venerable Wilberforce sat by, like a parent eagle, impelling, directing, supporting, and delighting in the flight of its eaglet; or, rather, like the ancient prophet Elijah, anointing his successor, and leading him to the spot where his own prophetic mantle should descend upon him, as the pledge of "a double portion of his spirit."

Mr. Buxton, in an animated manner, stated the gross injustice in which the state of negro slavery originated, and detailed some particular instances of the cruelty and hardship to which its unhappy victims were exposed. He alluded to the imaginary alarms which had been raised, and the terrific predictions which had been uniformly uttered by the advocates of slavery, wherever any motion was made or proposed which should in the least degree tend to disturb the existing state of things. "An insurrection of all the blacks, the massacre of all the whites," was to be the "inevitable consequence" of the slightest intimation that the condition of the former might and ought to be improved; and having proved, instance by instance, that all these predictions had been falsified by subsequent fact, he argued the safety of proceeding in the work of equity and humanity, undeterred by these imaginary terrors.

At the close of Mr. Buxton's speech, Mr. Canning, as the organ of his majesty's government, expressed his concurrence in the desire to mitigate, and ultimately to annihilate, slavery, but made some objections to the form of expression of Mr. Buxton's motion, and proposed instead—

1. That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating the condition of the slave-population in his majesty's colonies.

2. That through a determined and persevering, but judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures, this house looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population; such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his majesty's subjects.

3. That this house is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period that may be compatible with the well being of the slaves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of all parties concerned therein.

4. That these resolutions be laid before his majesty.

In the discussion that ensued, some attempts were made, on the old system, to prove the happiness, satisfaction, and contentment of the negroes, except when they were excited by the injudicious and unnecessary interference of their enthusiastic friends in England. These assertions, however, were clearly disproved and the cause ably supported by Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Wm. Smith, Sir G. Rose, Mr. Brougham, Lord Althorp, and Mr. Buxton, in reply to the objections made against his speech. As the motion of Mr. Canning

embodied the substance of what had been contemplated in that of Mr. Buxton, and as it was secure of the support of government, and received the acquiescence of the West Indian proprietors present, no objection was raised on the part of the abolitionists; and the resolutions were unanimously adopted by the house, and subsequently, with equal unanimity, by the House of Lords.

Thus far the abolition committee acknowledged abundant cause of gratitude to God, and congratulation to the friends of humanity. It was, however, matter of regret and anxiety, that the reforms recommended were to be effected not by the enactment of a British parliament, but through the medium of colonial legislatures, which past experience had convinced the friends of the cause were more likely to thwart and delay, than cordially to promote such measures. They therefore urged upon the public the necessity of continued and increased exertion, in petitioning parliament, and in establishing local associations for the purpose of diffusing information. Subsequent events proved that these anticipations and suggestions were not unfounded or unnecessary.

The reforms proposed by his majesty's government were as follow:—

To provide the means of religious instruction and christian education for the slaves.

To put an end to Sunday markets and compulsory labour; to give the slave the sabbath as entirely his own; and to allow him equivalent time in the week for the cultivation of his ground, and otherwise providing for himself and family.

To admit the testimony of slaves in courts of justice; to legalize their marriages, and protect

them in the possession of property. To remove all obstructions to manumission, and to grant to the slave the power of redeeming himself, his wife, and family, at a fair price. To prevent the separation of families, by sale or otherwise; also the removal of slaves from the estate or plantation to which they belong. To restrain the power and prevent the abuse of arbitrary punishment; to abolish the corporeal punishment of females, and the use of the driving whip; and to establish Savings' Banks for the use of the slaves. From these provisions of reform it is easy to conceive some idea of the wretched degraded state of the negroes which was thus virtually acknowledged by the government, and even by the West Indian proprietors themselves. But these moderate concessions were rejected and trampled upon by the local authorities. Some remonstrated against them as fraught with ruin to the master, injurious and demoralizing to the slave, peculiarly hazardous to the lives of the free coloured inhabitants, and totally subversive of the gracious intentions of the king. The abolition of flogging of females, and the driving-whip as it respects both sexes, they maintained to have deprived them of the only means intelligible to slaves, and by which they could be kept in order. Some of the colonies contumeliously refused to comply with the requirements of government, and others evaded the provisions, or dealt out compliances in so scanty a measure, that next to nothing was done. Even in the crown colonies, (see p. 105,) the good effected fell very far short of the pledges and intentions of government; and in fact a spirit of disappointment and discontent

manifested itself among the unhappy slaves, from an idea that something had been done for their benefit in England, of which they were not permitted to reap the fruits. The consequent turbulence was serious, though greatly magnified by the maligners of the negro, as well as excited by their cruel oppression. They, however, of course made it a handle to work against the advocates of humanity and the teachers of religion. This will be more particularly noticed hereafter; it is enough to say here, that instead of discouraging their efforts, it only served to prove more fully than ever the need of increased energy and untiring perseverance.

In the Second Report of the Abolition Society, published 1825, they deeply lament that so little progress had been made in bettering the condition of the slave; they urge the necessity of a direct and authoritative interference of parliament, and express a strong desire for an abolition of the monopoly or protecting duty on West Indian produce, by which the consumption of this country was almost confined to that produced by slave-labour, when articles equally good might be obtained by free labour, but for the interference of this monopoly. This subject is ably argued out in the Report, which closes with an announcement that Mr. Wilberforce had retired from public life. A just tribute of gratitude was paid to the retiring patriot, and an ardent wish expressed, which has been happily realized, that before the day should arrive when his country would appoint his place among the tombs of her departed statesmen and heroes, and when he himself should be put in pos-

session of his eternal reward, he might have witnessed the final triumph of the good cause to which his life was consecrated.

About this time considerable attention was excited by a small tract, widely circulated, entitled "Immediate, not gradual, Abolition; or an Inquiry into the shortest, safest, and most effectual means of getting rid of West Indian Slavery." This tract, though published anonymously, was generally understood to be the production of a talented and benevolent lady, Miss Hope, of Liverpool. It certainly was an honourable and successful effort in the good cause. It was read with avidity by thousands, who had not access to larger works, or who had not leisure or ability to pursue a lengthened train of reasoning; and proceeding, as it did, upon the supposition that a total abstinence from West Indian produce, on the part of those who were really desirous of abolishing slavery, would greatly facilitate, if not absolutely ensure, the attainment of that consummation so devoutly to be wished, it was the means of inducing very many to adopt the measure. How far this abstinence really did promote the object it may not be easy to ascertain, as other causes at length operated in bringing it about. It is, however, matter of pleasing reflection to those who could do little more, that they conscientiously practised an act of self-denial in the hope of furthering the cause of humanity.

In 1825 the Anti-slavery Society began to issue a monthly publication, containing accounts of its proceedings, and of the efforts made in different places to promote its objects; thus diffusing general information on the subject, and especially communicating

facts, as they transpired in the colonies, illustrative of the nature and tendency of slavery as actually existing. This was the more necessary, as one regular subterfuge of the abettors of slavery was, to turn aside as obsolete all accounts of the cruelties and hardships suffered by the negroes. The first number of this publication was issued in June, 1825, and contained the speeches at the general meeting, which had just taken place. Subsequent numbers gave a brief view of colonial slavery in general, and details of the existing state of things in the British colonies, drawn from the statements of colonists themselves, in papers lately laid before parliament. With all their attempts to glaze over the worst features of their system, and to give undue prominence to the best, the picture was sufficiently hideous to excite the abhorrence of every friend of humanity, and to stimulate each, in his respective sphere, to do what he could towards the riddance of the earth from such a monster.

Other publications were, from time to time, issued by the society, calculated to throw light upon the subject in general, or to meet particular objections and difficulties as they were raised.

Dec. 21, 1825, the society held a public meeting in London, for the purpose of petitioning parliament for the abolition of colonial slavery. This measure was rendered necessary, by the contumelious manner in which the requisitions of government had been treated. This fact was established by extracts from the colonial newspapers. The following will serve as specimens of colonial effrontery:—"We did and do declare the whip to be essential to West Indian discipline, ay, as essential, my Lord Calthorpe, as the freedom of

the press and the trial by jury, to the liberty of the subject in Britain, and to be justified on equally legitimate grounds. The comfort, welfare, and happiness of our labouring classes cannot subsist without it. The fact may have been denied by others, but never by us." "We beg you to observe, that not one of the unconquered colonies, (those that are not crown colonies, but have a legislature of their own, though subject to Great Britain) have had the civility to comply with Lord Bathurst's* wishes, notwithstanding he informed them, in the most earnest and feeling manner, of the serious extent of the disappointment which his majesty's government would experience if they rejected the application. We sympathize most sincerely with his lordship on this unexpected event."

The petitions of the society, or rather from the inhabitants of the metropolis, for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, were presented to the house of commons by Mr. Buxton, March 1st, 1826, and to the house of lords by the Duke of Gloucester. In the speech of the former gentleman on that occasion, he justly complained of the very unsatisfactory manner in which the recommendations of government had been received by the colonists, and the small degree of improvement experienced by the slave population. The inefficiency of the measures already tried, he considered as calling upon his majesty's ministers to fulfil their pledge of countenancing a legislative

* Lord Bathurst was at that time Secretary for the Colonial Department, and of course transmitted the order in council for the improvement of the condition of the slaves.

enactment which the colonial governments could not resist. There seemed, however, on the part of government, a wish to exercise the utmost lenience towards the colonial governments, to make the very most of what little they had done in compliance with the order in council sent them, and still to rely on their honour and wait their time for further improvements; but the public were not so easily satisfied, and their sentiments were expressed in numerously attended meetings, in various parts of the country, and numerously signed petitions to parliament. As a specimen, the number of petitions, in one session, amounted to six hundred and forty-four; that from London contained seventy-two thousand signatures; that from Manchester, forty-one thousand; from Glasgow, thirty-eight thousand; from Edinburgh, seventeen thousand; from the county of Norfolk, thirty-eight thousand, and from other places in like proportion. Very interesting discussions on the subject frequently took place in both houses of parliament, especially in the house of commons, on the motion of Mr. Denman, respecting the trials of some slaves in Jamaica, charged with conspiracy and rebellion, on which eight persons were condemned and executed. Every one of the slaves declared his innocency to the last; even when on the scaffold, pardon was offered to any two who would confess a rebellious design, and, on the whole, it appeared to be a mere "got up" concern, and that the poor creatures were tried under the most disadvantageous circumstances, convicted on very slight and insufficient evidence, and the execution wantonly hastened, merely that it might strike terror into other negroes, who,

having a little relaxation at Christmas, might find leisure to form some scheme of mischief, unless deterred by the salutary spectacle of eight of their fellow-slaves gibbetted before their eyes! The trial took place Dec. 19, and the execution was hastened to take place before Christmas. This debate elicited several other recent instances of wanton barbarity and contempt of negro life, as well as of opposition and persecution to the teachers of religion. It resulted in a resolution, (unanimous,) "That this house sees, in the proceedings which have been brought under its consideration, with respect to the late trials of slaves in Jamaica, further proof of the evils inseparably attendant upon a state of slavery; and derives therefrom increased conviction of the propriety of the resolutions passed by this house on the 15th of May, 1823."

About this time, Mr. Stephen issued an able pamplet entitled "England enslaved by her own Colonies," a work which clearly proved the gross impolicy of the system altogether. The value of this work was attested by the conviction and satisfaction of many inquirers after truth, and by the opposition it excited among prejudiced and interested persons.

During two sessions of parliament, eight motions were brought forward by the abolitionists, all on subjects of considerable importance, and most of them occasioned by cases of flagrant outrage and violation of the law, or by evils of a more general kind, necessarily connected with the slave system. Though no very decisive measures immediately resulted, some progress must have been making

towards the ultimate accomplishment of the great object. In felling a mighty tree, each several stroke seems to effect but little, yet every one contributes its part, and at length the tree falls. It was not *this* stroke or *that* which effected it, but all together.

The eight motions referred to were :—

1. By Mr. Brougham, on the trial and sentence of the missionary, Smith, in Demerara.

2. By Dr. Lushington, on the deportation of Lesesne and Escoffery, two free men of colour, and excellent, long established characters, who were arrested and hardly dealt with, and sent off the island of Jamaica as aliens and dangerous persons, although no charge whatever could be substantiated against them, and although many persons of the highest rank and respectability attested their full conviction that these persons were not only British subjects, but perfectly free from all imputation of disaffection or disloyalty.

3. By Mr. Buxton, on the expulsion of the missionary, Shrewsbury, from Barbadoes, and the demolition of the methodist chapel there.

4. By Mr. Denman, on the trial of the alleged insurgents in Jamaica, see p. 332.

5. By Mr. Buxton, on the Mauritius slave-trade.

6. By Mr. Whitmore, on the sugar duties and bounties, by which the monopoly of the trade was secured to the employers of slave labour.

7. By Mr. W. Smith, on the expediency of placing the administration of the slave laws in the hands of those who were not slave-holders. Without this measure, every attempt at reforming the

condition of the slave, would be as useless as committing the keys of a treasure to a thief, with a strict charge to lock up all safely.

8. By Mr. Brougham, expressive of the dissatisfaction of the house with the proceedings of the colonial assemblies, in rejecting, delaying, or very inadequately effecting, the reforms suggested by government, and pledging the house to an early consideration of the subject.

April 17, Lord Suffield brought forward the subject in the house of lords. In a long and animated speech he defended the abolitionists from the charges of rashness, precipitancy, and enthusiasm, and displayed the unmitigated horrors of slavery, from recent facts, and the hopelessness of trusting to colonial legislation to reform their own abuses. The object of his lordship's motion was an address to the king, praying that in future no person having possession, or reversionary or other interest in slaves, should be eligible to any of the offices of governor, chief justice, attorney-general, fiscal, guardian, or religious instructor, in any of the West Indian colonies. After some discussion, the motion was withdrawn.

Fresh information was continually coming to hand, and communicated to the public by the society, of recent transactions in the slave colonies, all of which tended to display their real state, and proved that some, which had been represented as conducted on so mild a system, as not to require the interference of government, had attained this character only through gross ignorance or wilful misrepresentation. This was the case with the Cape of Good Hope. In some colonies, the Mauritius especially, still more horrid and revolting results

were brought to light as attendant on the wretched system, than had ever before been imagined; and, in the best, the determination prevailed, to do as little as possible in adopting any measures for improvement.

Another prominent topic of discussion and information, at this period, was the monopoly in favour of the West Indian colonies, by which it appeared that not only the system of slavery was upholden, but also that the range of our own commercial and manufacturing industry and capital was circumscribed. Hence many petitions, especially from the manufacturing and mercantile districts, Leeds, Halifax, Manchester, Birmingham, Blackburn, Hull, &c. were forwarded to parliament, that the duties might be equalized, and equal facilities afforded for commerce with the East Indies, which would at once open a wide field for honourable enterprize to British manufacture and merchants, and encourage the use of free labour.

In the year 1828, the attention of the friends of abolition was still very much directed to the progress of colonial reform, in consequence of the propositions of government. Very few of these measures had been adopted, and some of them very partially and inefficiently. On the whole it became more and more evident, that nothing effectual would be done in that way. On the 6th of March, reference was made to the subject in the house of commons by Mr. Brougham, who inquired of Mr. Huskisson, (Secretary of State for the Colonial Department,) whether any measures had been adopted in the colonies sufficiently satisfactory to prevent the necessity of parliamentary interference, and intimated his intention, if the infor-

mation was not satisfactory, to bring forward a motion soon after the recess. That minister, in a despatch to the Governor of Jamaica, had informed him, that the slave law passed in that island had been disallowed by the crown, and fully and ably stated the reasons of that measure. On this occasion, however, in reply to Mr. Brougham's appeal, Mr. Huskisson gave a more favourable account of the improvements that had resulted from the suggestions of government in 1823. That some improvements had been made was fully admitted, but that they were very inadequate to the necessities of the case, the expectation of the British public, and the intentions of government, was equally obvious, and that they fully confirmed the memorable words of that enlightened statesman, Mr. Canning (now no more)—"Trust not," said he, "the masters of slaves in what concerns legislation for slavery. However specious their laws may appear, depend upon it, they must be ineffectual in their operation. It is in the nature of things that they should be so."—"Let, then, the British house of commons do their part themselves. Let them not delegate the trust of doing it to those who cannot execute that trust fairly. Let the evil be remedied by an assembly of free men, by the government of a free people, and not by the masters of slaves. Their laws can never reach, can never cure, the evil."—"There is something in the nature of absolute authority, in the relation between master and slave, which makes despotism, in all cases, and, under all circumstances, an incompetent and unsure executor, even of its own provisions in favour of the objects of its power."

These remarks, originally uttered with reference to the slave-trade, were found to bear with equal force on the system of slavery in general.

About this time considerable attention was excited by a series of lectures, by Rev. B. Godwin, classical tutor of a dissenting academy, Bradford, delivered first in the Exchange of that populous town, and afterwards at York and Scarborough. These lectures were published and widely circulated. They contain a valuable digest of the facts and arguments connected with negro slavery, and will, probably, be long referred to as an historical document, though the question is happily set at rest.

At the public meeting of the Anti-slavery Society, held May 3rd, the Duke of Gloucester presided, and the crowded room evinced the deep and abiding interest felt in the cause. Mr. Brougham beautifully alluded to the venerable Wilberforce (who was present). He apologized for preceding him in addressing the meeting, which an indispensable professional engagement compelled him to do, "presuming," he said, "to address you thus early, and thereby to delay, though but for a few minutes, the high gratification of your hearing once more lifted up in this place, that voice so dear to humanity and freedom, which sounded the trumpet of our earliest victory, and is now happily and mercifully preserved to marshal us to our latest triumph." This well-timed expression of deserved homage was received with affectionate applause by the numerous assembly. Mr. B. continued, in an animated strain, expressing the confidence he felt in the success of the cause, from the united and continued zeal of those around

him, which had not been damped even by disappointment and delay. He urged on the meeting the necessity of impressing on the legislature its solemn determination that early and efficacious measures should be adopted for accomplishing the wishes of the people, and the resolutions of parliament on this subject, otherwise, he observed, the progress made, or pretended to be made, towards the accomplishment of their great object, would be that of standing stock still, or of going right backwards; and expressed his firm belief that their disappointment would be renewed, and that neither government would effect, nor parliament enforce, those reforms which they promised to effect, in compliance with the universal voice of the English people.

This sentiment was corroborated by Mr. Wilberforce. "Unless," said he, "the people of this country come forward with a zeal and unanimity worthy of themselves, worthy of their history, worthy of the country to which they belong, we shall in vain expect, within any time to which we can look forward, to see slavery abolished in our colonies." Happily the people were unanimous, and zealous, and persevering; and, though the struggle was prolonged yet six years, Wilberforce was spared to witness its termination. The other speakers were, Mr. Denman, Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Buxton, Rev. G. Noel, Rev. J. W. Cunningham, Mr. Sykes, and the Duke of Gloucester, and never, perhaps, were the speeches of a public meeting more worthy of being preserved, or more likely to be read with interest, even when the object has been accomplished, and the excitement has passed away.

From this time, petitions against slavery, and the duties which were considered to protect and uphold it, continued to load the tables of both houses of parliament. It was impossible for the legislature to mistake the sense of the country, and the presentation of these petitions afforded opportunities to many enlightened and eloquent members of parliament to express their concurrent sentiments also, and to bring forward facts in support of them; for almost every communication from the colonies furnished new proofs of determined opposition to the measures of government for ameliorating the condition of the negroes, or of practical disregard to them, by continued and aggravated instances of oppression and cruelty. These were peculiarly displayed in opposition to the religious instruction of the slaves, and persecution of their teachers, and in throwing every difficulty in the way of slaves obtaining their manumission. By the new laws, in some of the colonies, masters were compelled to liberate their slaves on payment of a fairly appraised value. The bare possibility of obtaining freedom for themselves, or those most dear to them, stimulated the poor creatures to industry and self-denial; and many instances occurred of parents claiming the benefit of the law to purchase, not their own freedom, but that of a child, perhaps of several in succession; and, can it be believed, that persons appointed to fix the valuation in such cases, should so lean to the side of oppression, as unjustly to favour the master, and to extort, from the hard earnings of the slave, a price double that which would have been fixed on in an ordinary sale? Such was continually the case. To give only one

instance, where it were easy to multiply—a mother demanded to purchase the freedom of her babe, of six months old. Only seven months before, when the law for compulsory manumission was not in force, a child of a year and a half old, equally healthy, having advanced farther in escaping the perils of infancy, and nearer to a capability of usefulness, had been valued at two hundred guilders, (fifteen pounds;) but now, the price wrung from the mother for her babe of six months old, was five hundred guilders, (thirty-seven pounds, ten shillings). Surely her groans entered into the ears of the Lord God of sabaoth!

On May 25, 1829, Mr. Brougham introduced the subject of slave evidence, it being obviously desirable that it should be rendered eligible in all cases where that of another person would be admitted. Sir George Murray fully agreed in the propriety of this requirement, and engaged, early in the next session, to bring forward a bill for the reform of colonial judicature, in which provision should be made for universally admitting the evidence of slaves, on the same footing as that of other persons. The utmost satisfaction was expressed by the friends of abolition at this pledge, which, if carried into effect, would, they justly considered, be the first effective step towards any real reform of the colonial system.

A few days afterwards, a long discussion took place in the house of commons, on the state of the Mauritius, where not only did slavery prevail in its worst form, but even an illicit traffic in slaves was carried on to a great extent, and the persons who practised it, were shielded or connived at by those in authority. A motion was made, with much

more good intention than discretion, for the freedom of all children born of slave parents. It was at a late period of the session, and a late hour of the night, and the friends of the cause, not being aware of the intention to bring forward this motion, had all left. It therefore fell to the ground unsupported. Petitions were still presented, and discussions awakened on freedom of trade, and on the extension of those civil rights and privileges to free persons of colour, other British subjects possessed. Every time the subject was, in any form, brought forward, some truth was elicited, and some advance was made, however small. The defenders of slavery against the charges brought against it, were reduced to one argument and one assertion, which, though continually refuted, served to turn again and again, in every variety of aspect and attitude. The *argument* was, the improbability that West Indian planters would exercise cruelty towards their slaves, any more than an English farmer would to his cattle, by which he would be injuring his own property. The *assertion*, that, notwithstanding all the representations of abolitionists of the miseries of slavery, and all the coercive means employed to confine the negro to it, the condition of negro slaves, in the West Indies, was one of unexampled enjoyment, which, by their shewing, gained on a comparison with that of every other class of society.

About this time, the British Envoy at Mexico, H. G. Ward, Esq., communicated to government a most interesting report of the successful introduction into that extensive district, of the cultivation of sugar by free labour, and the total abolition of slavery. This was justly brought forward as an

instance of the possibility of effecting such a change, not only without ruin to the colony, but with decided advantage.

At this time several important meetings were held in Ireland, remarkable not only for a numerous attendance, but for the harmonious concurrence of individuals and leaders, of every variety of religious profession and political partizanship, who, forgetting all other differences, united in their efforts to promote the cause of mercy and humanity.

The Roman catholic emancipation bill had conferred on the majority of the Irish people a boon of immense value; and the first taste they had of a participation of equal rights, stimulated in them a desire to impart similar blessings to the oppressed and degraded portion of their fellow-subjects in the West-Indies.

The general meeting of the Anti-slavery Society, in 1830, was held May 15, the anniversary of the day on which, seven years before, the resolutions had been adopted in parliament, on which were grounded the measures of colonial reform recommended by his majesty's council as preparatory to emancipation. The meeting was most numerously attended. Two thousand were calculated to have been present, and an equal number departed unable to gain admittance. The venerable Wilberforce again presided, called to the chair by his faithful fellow-labourer, Clarkson. The several speakers expressed, and the meeting unanimously supported, their resolution to abide by the cause they had espoused, until the complete accomplishment of the great object of their common solicitude and united exertions—the final extinction of slavery.

The result of this meeting was, an urgent petition to parliament, no longer to postpone this momentous subject, but that it might receive their early and earnest consideration, that Britain might be relieved from the guilt and ignominy of such a system; that measures might be taken for arresting the progress of the evil, and that a day should be fixed, after which all children, born within the dominions of his majesty, should be absolutely, and to all intents and purposes, *free*.

This petition was presented to the commons on the 1st of July, by Mr. Brougham, who, a few days afterwards, brought forward a motion, pledging the house to take steps for the immediate mitigation and final abolition of slavery, together with the amendment of the administration of justice in the colonies. This motion was lost, fifty-six voting against twenty-seven. Several other discussions of minor interest took place in the course of the sessions. Meanwhile, public meetings were held, and anti-slavery petitions prepared throughout the kingdom. One petition from Edinburgh received 22,000 signatures, and from other places in like proportion. Many most admirable speeches were delivered, and, in looking over the records of the period, we find associated with the cause of humanity, names which have been universally allied in their respective, many of them widely extended, circles, with talent, learning, eloquence, honour, and piety. In some instances missionaries, who had been driven by persecution from the scene of their labours, came home to inform their countrymen of what they had seen, and heard, and experienced; what they could

challenge the world to contradict, and which, if established, must for ever set at rest the question, whether slavery should any longer be permitted to exist.

The death of the king (George IV.) occasioned a dissolution of parliament. As the choice of their representatives in parliament was thus placed in the hands of the British people, it justly became a matter of serious consideration to the friends of humanity, to confer their suffrages on such as were already known as the firm, zealous, and decided friends of abolition, or who would pledge themselves to use their utmost endeavours in parliament to accomplish, at the earliest possible period, the extinction of slavery. This topic was frequently brought forward at public meetings, whether for the express object of promoting abolition, or at anniversaries of political or other associations, and it was generally determined, not only that the choice of candidates should be influenced by it, but also that petitions should reiterate on the parliament, when formed, the sentiments and wishes of their constituents.

One or two remarkable instances took place of opposition in public meetings, and of attempts of the advocates of slavery, either by argument or clamour, to put down the statements of the friends of abolition. At Reading, Captain Brown, a Jamaica planter, rose in the body of the town hall, where the meeting was held, and expressed a wish to reply to the statements of those who delineated the evils of slavery. He was politely invited to the platform, where he delivered a long speech, which was patiently and attentively listened to. He asserted that the slaves were treated with the utmost humanity and

kindness; that their condition was, in every respect, advantageous and comfortable; and that, though many possessed ample means to purchase their liberty, they were not at all disposed to do so. Moreover, he contended, that abolition was fraught with ruin and destruction to all parties, and that if emancipation were proclaimed at noon, martial law must be proclaimed at eight at night, in order to prevent the massacre of every white person in the colonies. It will scarcely be supposed that any body was foolish enough to believe all this at the time, and now, facts have happily disproved it.

At a very interesting meeting at Birmingham, among many other able speeches, that of the Rev. H. Marsh, Rector of one of the parishes in that town, embraced a most masterly and comprehensive review of the question, in almost every point. This the Rev. Gentleman was afterwards prevailed on to repeat, probably somewhat enlarged, at several places. On these occasions, he delivered his statements and sentiments in the form of one or two lectures, which were heard with deep attention, and which were the means of conveying much clear and correct information, of exciting much pure and benevolent feeling, and of stimulating many to increased and persevering exertions in the cause.

At Cheltenham (and several other places) the meeting was addressed by the Rev. Mr. Thorpe, curate of Wigginton, Oxon; who had been three years a resident clergyman in Jamaica, which island he left in 1829. From his own observation he gave most affecting accounts, fully confirming former statements of the hardships and wretchedness of a state of slavery. He dwelt especially on the difficulty, amounting almost to an im-

possibility, of a slave obtaining legal justice, or the injurer of a slave being duly punished; also on the demoralizing effects of the system, and on the determined opposition generally manifested against the instruction of the slaves, and the persecutions endured by those who became religious. In the most improved parish in the island, he mentioned that the proprietors of fifty-four estates permitted their slaves to receive instruction from a minister of the church of England; but, of these, fifty-one restricted the grant to oral instruction,—the slaves must by no means be taught to read; and granting access to the instructors only one half hour at noon, when the slaves retired, wearied and hungry, to refresh themselves, and when they were little in a condition to attend and receive instruction; and even this scanty modicum was denied to the slaves on forty-six estates, amounting in number to 11,451. He mentioned an affecting case of persecution,* in which he knew that a valuable slave was cruelly chastised, sent to a distant plantation, and nearly starved, only to prevent his teaching the gospel to his fellow-slaves. He alluded to the dreadful profanation of the sabbath; the market being held on that day, and the slaves compelled by necessity to labour for their sustenance, or to pursue their traffic, while the churches were deserted. He concluded his speech by reminding the assembly that "the slave was considered as a chattel, liable to the cruelty of the cart-whip, and the chains of the workhouse. That he endured excessive and unrequited toil; that he could not manumit himself; that he was demoralized and brutalized; and then called upon them

* Most probably that of Harry Williams.

to acknowledge that slavery was a monster whose existence ought no longer to be allowed."

At Bath a meeting was convened to petition for the speedy and total abolition of slavery. The Bishop of Bath and Wells presided. The venerable Wilberforce was present, and gave an interesting outline of the efforts that had been made during upwards of forty years, for redressing the wrongs of Africa, and exhorted those around him to persevere with earnestness and zeal worthy of the cause in which they were engaged, and in reliance on the blessing of Heaven, which would ultimately crown it with success.

An attempt was made to interrupt this meeting by clamour and hisses, but the chairman, by mingled suavity and firmness, succeeded in subduing this commotion and restoring order. A gentleman present then handed to the chair a paper, containing propositions of a different kind from those which the committee intended to bring before the meeting. He was at length induced to consent that the regular business of the meeting should proceed, after which it was engaged that what he had to propose should be laid before the meeting. At intervals he seemed disposed to renew his interruptions; and, at the close, contended that his motion should be brought as an amendment to the resolution. It chiefly related to the claims of the planters to compensation, in case of an abolition of slavery. It was promptly and judiciously observed, by Archdeacon Moysey, that it was not in that meeting, but in parliament, that the manner and circumstances of abolition would be decided; and that as many of the speakers had expressed themselves favourable to a remuneration for such

losses as might prove to be sustained by the planters, he thought it might be more expressive of the general feeling, and more consistent with sound policy, to introduce a clause into the petition itself, expressive of their confidence in the wisdom of parliament, and their wish to protect, as far as possible, the established interests of individuals and property in the colonies. To this proposal all parties agreed; and even the opponents declared that with this addition they would readily sign the petition.

At Bristol a most disgraceful uproar was made by the upholders of slavery, who interrupted a meeting regularly convened. Such was their outrageous violence, and defiance of all order and decency, that it became necessary to dissolve the meeting. After the rioters had withdrawn, a large assembly showed no inclination to disperse; another chairman was elected, several speakers addressed the meeting, and a series of spirited resolutions were drawn up, declaring that "the season for the total extinction of slavery at the earliest possible period having now arrived, a petition should be prepared, embodying the sentiments of the meeting, in order for its presentation to the sovereign, praying his majesty's most gracious direction to his ministers, immediately to bring into the two houses of parliament a bill on this great question, which should accord with the interests of humanity, the claims of justice, and the often expressed desires of the people of this country." A subsequent meeting was held, when the original intention was carried into effect of petitioning the legislature. The same adverse party again obtruded themselves upon the meeting,

but with less violence. Their leader was patiently heard, much to the honour of the cause of humanity, as it doubtless opened the eyes of many who had been deluded by the interested representations of the abettors of slavery, when they found that their weapons were rude clamour and interruption; while the advocates of emancipation, having truth on their side, could quietly listen to all that might be said by their adversaries, and then calmly disprove the whole.

At Bury St. Edmond's the interest of a public meeting was greatly enhanced by a scurrilous attempt to injure the characters of two excellent missionaries, (Mr. Phillips and Mr. Orton,) who had been cruelly persecuted in the West Indies, and who were expected to address the meeting. The injured men were enabled triumphantly to rebut the charges, and to produce the highest, most unequivocal, and impartial testimonials in favour of their own character, as well as to disclose facts which their adversaries in vain endeavoured to disprove, and which could not fail to rivet in the mind of every thinking person, an utter abhorrence of the slave system, and of all the evils connected with it.

When a mighty change, which has long been contemplated with mingled feelings of dread and desire, is about to be effected, various circumstances, often unexpected, concur in bringing matters to maturity, which lead the reflecting and devout observer to mark the overruling hand of Providence, which has obviated difficulties, raised up instruments, and furnished resources in a manner which no human foresight could have anticipated. "This is the Lord's doing, it is marvellous

in our eyes." This was peculiarly seen in the progress of events by which the abolition of slavery was at length brought about.

It may be interesting to trace some of these concurrent causes. First, *the general extension of knowledge.* The system had long been, to procure and dispose of slaves as brutes; to govern them by brutal force; to keep them in brutal ignorance; and then to reproach them with brutal incapacity. But within the last few years (to adopt an often repeated phrase) "the schoolmaster has been abroad." Many have run to and fro, and knowledge has been increased. The facilities for obtaining and imparting knowledge have marvellously increased in all classes and departments of society; and in spite of all the interested precautions of slave-holders, some rays of instruction have penetrated even the gloom of slavery. Some, indeed, have been wise enough to fall in with, and give direction to, a force that they could not resist. They have consented that their slaves should be taught; they have been gratified at finding them capable of receiving instruction, and have been convinced that the happy effects of well regulated knowledge would be to prepare them to act as free agents, and to be safely and beneficially entrusted with that liberty which had been so long unrighteously withheld from them; but whether or not the master encouraged and regulated the acquisition of knowledge, the slave more or less acquired it, and found that "knowledge is power." He whose knowledge was founded on christian principles, and derived from the pure fountain of truth, learned indeed unrepiningly to submit to the hardships of his condition, and

faithfully to discharge its duties; but he learned also to aspire after that freedom which was his native right, and to prepare himself for exercising the noble functions of a free man. The more he knew, the more he must abhor the unrighteous and degrading bondage in which he had been held; his hopes and energies would be directed to the attainment of liberty; he would "wait for the dawning of a brighter day;" and though he would not by violence "snap his chain," he would anticipate some happy moment, when it should crumble or dissolve. But others would imbibe knowledge through channels less safe and salutary. They would hear of *rights*, and *injuries*, and *oppression*, to which their own feelings would too distinctly respond; and feelings of hatred and purposes of resentment, or at least determination to effect their freedom, at whatever hazard to their oppressors, would prevail in proportion to this native energy of character; and, in spite of all the vigilance of their task-masters, there would be opportunities found among the slaves of communicating to each other their intelligence and their projects. Thus the slaves were evidently *ripening for liberty*. This was obvious both to the friends and enemies of the cause. No person acquainted with the circumstances of the case could reasonably expect that slavery could subsist many years; the only question was as to the manner of its dissolution. Should the boon of freedom be equitably and generously bestowed, gratefully and affectionately received, and the transfer from cultivation by slave labour to cultivation by free labour, be effected with order and tranquillity? or, should the master keep up a determined resistance to the

movements of society and the signs of the times, and the negroes, goaded on by tyranny and oppression, rush to seize their right through scenes of confusion and bloodshed? The former proposition was daily gaining new advocates; many who had long regarded the projects of the abolitionists as vain and visionary, were convinced that such measures alone would be safe and salutary, and stood prepared to join a general movement; some few even anticipated any general measure, by liberating their own slaves. But the determined advocates of slavery seemed, in many instances, more and more infatuated in their acts of oppression to the slaves, opposition to the dissemination of knowledge,* and persecution against religious teachers and practices. It will not for a moment be supposed that such a line of conduct could arrest the march of knowledge, damp the love of freedom, or destroy the influence of religious principle; but it could and did, exhibit the system of slavery in its true colours; and while it rendered the yoke yet more odiously galling to the slave, called forth the stronger and more determined energies of an enlightened, a free, and a generous people, to break the bonds and let the oppressed go free. When the slaves could no longer be kept in ignorance of the blessings of liberty and knowledge; and the British people

* As a specimen of the principle on which religious instruction was prohibited to the negro, we extract the following remonstrance from the Demerara Gazette—"Can you make your negroes christians, and use the words 'dear brother' or 'sister' to those whom you hold in bondage? Why, what would be the consequence? They would conceive themselves by possibility put on a level with yourselves, and the chains of slavery would be broken."

could no longer be kept in ignorance of the wretchedness of slavery, the system was evidently tottering to its fall.

Another circumstance which contributed much to hasten the consummation so devoutly to be wished, was the advancement of liberal men and measures at home. The repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, in 1828, placed dissenters on an equal ground with their fellow-subjects, as to their eligibility for civil offices; a similar concession was granted a few months later to the Roman catholics. Thus a freedom of discussion on general subjects was encouraged, by which it was likely that truth would be brought forward with greater prominence and force. It was also natural that those who had themselves endured any kind of oppression, or even of invidious distinction, should be disposed to maintain the cause of those who suffered incomparably more.

Notwithstanding considerable differences in political views, the several successive colonial secretaries of his majesty's government have been men of enlightened minds and firm integrity. Some of them, perhaps, disposed to think too favourably of the slave-masters, but not to suffer themselves or the public to be hoodwinked by their representations, or the measures of government to be baffled and evaded by their artifices and opposition. Beginning with the year 1827, Lord Goderich was colonial secretary for a few months, then Mr. Huskisson,* then Sir George Murray; Lord Goderich again, Mr. Stanley, and Mr. Spring Rice. On looking over the records of those years,

* Who met his death at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway, Sept. 15, 1830.

and the correspondence of those secretaries, we are struck at once by the patience and politeness with which they met the opposition and even insolence of colonial legislature; and by the firmness with which, at the same time, they intimated to them that the injunctions of the government at home were not to be trifled with. This is particularly seen in the despatches of Lord Goderich.

In 1830, a few months after the accession of his present majesty, a ministry was formed consisting entirely of the advocates of freedom; those with whose names we have been familiar as the steady champions of the cause from its first agitation. Earl Grey, who, as Lord Howick, and the Marquis of Lansdowne, who, as Lord Henry Petty, warmly promoted the abolition of the slave-trade, as did also Lord Holland. Among their other colleagues in office, we find those who had been firm friends to the cause in its more recent struggles. Lord Brougham, (formerly Mr. Brougham), Lords Durham, Althorpe, Howick, (son of the venerable Earl Grey), Melbourne, Palmerston, Goderich, Lord John Russell, and Lord Auckland, the Hon. Mr. Stanley, Sir James Graham, and Sir T. Denman.

In 1832, under this ministry, was passed the celebrated Reform Bill, by which, as far as possible, the undue influence which had long been exercised in sending members to parliament, was done away; the elective franchise removed from ancient boroughs which had sunk into decay, and conferred on flourishing manufacturing places of comparatively modern date. Thus the parliament, according to its professed character, was formed of the representatives of the people, and

consequently carried a great preponderance in favour of liberal measures. With such a ministry, and such a parliament, the speedy dissolution of slavery might be confidently expected.

But there was yet another concurring cause which accelerated the event: it was the infatuated opposition of the infuriated colonists—especially manifested in religious persecution—not only in individual instances of flogging, imprisoning, or otherwise severely punishing slaves for attending religious meetings, and especially for praying with, or communicating instruction to their sable brethren, but in instigating a lawless mob to demolish the places of religious worship, and attempting to cast upon the missionaries the whole blame of exciting the people to insurrection. These pious and peaceable men had for years endured and witnessed what grieved their spirits, but they held their peace. They fomented no discontents among the negroes; they sent no complaints home; they bore in mind the object of their mission, which was, not to effect or attempt a political revolution, but to proclaim the gospel of peace. But when their temples were demolished, their characters traduced, and their lives endangered, they were driven home to seek an asylum and redress; and here their lips were no longer locked in colonial silence; they proclaimed through all the length and breadth of the land, the true state of affairs in the slave colonies. They were examined before committees of the lords and commons, and the result of these investigations did more towards hastening the important crisis than all the laborious efforts of preceding years. These remarks will be illustrated in the subsequent narration.

Early in 1831, the number of petitions presented in one session amounted to 5,184.

April 15, Mr. Buxton moved a resolution, that the house having eight years ago distinctly recognized the evils of colonial slavery, and the duty of taking measures for its ultimate abolition, and the colonial assemblies not having taken adequate measures for carrying those resolutions into effect, the house will proceed forthwith to consider and adopt the best means of effecting its abolition through the British dominions. Some amendment was proposed in a temperate but decided speech by Lord Althorp, after which Viscount Howick took the same ground with great ability and judgment. The house did not divide on the question, but the debate was adjourned for ten days, during which time parliament was dissolved.

At the public meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, the room, capable of accommodating 3000 persons, was filled to overflowing, and multitudes went away, unable to obtain admittance. Lord Suffield filled the chair. The speakers were Mr. Buxton, Sir James Macintosh, Dr. Lushington, Rev. D. Wilson, (now Bishop of Calcutta,) Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Sheil, Mr. Pownall, Rev. J. Burnett, Rev. Richard Watson, Mr. Evans, Mr. Stephen,* Rev. J. W. Cunningham. The objects chiefly insisted on were—that nothing short of the utter extinction of slavery could be satisfactory—that to the British parliament alone they must

* Son of the excellent author of several valuable publications on slavery.

look for the accomplishment of it. The colonists never would reform themselves; they would set at nought all the best efforts of the most enlightened ministry to do it for them; in a word, any thing short of an act of the legislature, with which they must comply or take the consequences, would be utterly inefficient. This suggested the importance of a judicious use on the part of the people, of their right of choosing their representatives, a topic which was solemnly urged on the meeting by several of the speakers, especially Dr. Lushington, who suggested the propriety of merging every political difference in the one grand cause of justice and humanity. The formation of the new parliament was in no small degree influenced by these considerations, and it proved itself favourable to the rights of the negroes.

The intelligence continually received from the colonies, all tended to prove the inefficiency of any measure short of parliamentary enactment. Notwithstanding the humane appointment of protectors, to whom the slaves were to make complaints of ill usage from their masters or overseers, fresh instances of barbarity were practised with comparative or total impunity. The provisions for affording religious instruction to the negroes were in like manner baffled by local regulations, which prevented the negroes from holding religious meetings, or having intercourse with their teachers between sun-set and sun-rise, the only time they were at leisure. Sunday markets were in some colonies restricted to the morning before service time, and in others totally abolished; but, in the first instance, the time of

preparing for public worship was given to secular pursuits, and that perhaps at the distance of many miles from the home of the negro, and from his place of worship; and the latter was in fact a cruel injury, as no other time was given to the negro by way of compensation. This circumstance produced serious disturbances in the island of Antigua, the blame of which was unjustly laid to the charge of the government at home, and the friends of religion, who desired that the negro should enjoy the sabbath for the purposes of sacred repose, according to the appointment of the merciful Creator; though it entirely belonged to those whose oppressive tyranny deprived the negro of any other time in which to attend to his own wants, and then forbade his employing that—a measure of equal cruelty and hypocrisy.

At the close of 1831 a work appeared, entitled Four Essays on Colonial Slavery, by John Jeremie, Esq., a gentleman who had been several years President of the Royal Court of St. Lucia. At the time of his appointment he had not thought much on the subject of slavery. Before he went out, he attended a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, and from the comparatively few facts brought forward, he was led to conclude that there were but few grounds of objection against the system of slavery, and went out a confirmed anti-abolitionist. He forgot that *many* meetings had preceded this, and that facts which would have been new to him had been related, till they were perfectly familiar to others. However, in that state of mind he went out, and for some time his views remained unchanged. He endeavoured to obtain the best colonial information, and he even made a tour of

the island, that he might judge for himself of the condition of the slaves; but a veil was so successfully thrown over every thing that could shock a humane mind, that Mr. Jeremie actually concluded that all the allegations of cruelty were downright misrepresentations, and stated that conclusion in his official documents, which were laid before parliament. But scarcely had he transmitted to England this favourable judgment of slavery, when a succession of circumstances gradually opened his eyes to the delusion under which he had laboured. He drew up a new slave code, which afforded something like protection to the slave, little, perhaps, imagining that its operation would interfere with the established order of things; but no sooner was it promulgated, than a negro came before him with a collar rivetted round his neck, from which projected three prongs of ten inches in length, and at the end of each, three smaller prongs of an inch long; to this collar was attached a chain reaching to fetters round his ancles. The back and limbs of the negro were wealed from neck to foot, and in this state he had been kept for months, working by day, and at night being immured in a solitary cell. On examination it proved that three other slaves on the same estate were in the same condition, and yet this estate was reported to be "well managed, the arrangements very good." About the same time an appeal came before Mr. Jeremie, in which a manager having sued a proprietor for his wages, the proprietor pleaded as a set off, the value of two of his negroes killed by the manager. In the counter statement, among trifling articles, soap, candles, &c., came the following horrible items:—

"For the value of John the cooper, flogged to death by you, and then buried in the cane-piece, 400 dollars.

"For the price of the negress, Mary Clare, who died by bruises received from you, 300 dollars."

The whole argument on the subject was on the loss sustained, and the recompence claimed, by the proprietor; no notice whatever was taken of the *murders!*

On another occasion, the son of a gentleman having been arrested on a charge of killing a negro, the gentleman exclaimed, in the general spirit of the system, "What a fuss about a brute!"

Many other interesting but appalling details were given, amply sufficient to justify the change of sentiments in the author. Among other tricks of the colonists, to avert the interference of Great Britain, and to obstruct the progress of reform, Mr. Jeremie mentioned that of fabricating rumours of plots among the slaves, which rumours were supported by every species of fraud and falsehood, and even by the most wanton destruction of negro life. As soon as his new code for the protection of the negro was brought into active operation, a scheme of this kind was got up, in the hope that both Mr. Jeremie and his measures of reform might be happily got rid of from St. Lucia. The treachery, however, was brought to light, and it was fully established, beyond a question, that great advantages had resulted from his measures, and that the pretences of insurrection, which had struck a panic through the whole island, and even conveyed a very formidable impression to the Colonial Office at home, were a total fabrication,

involving, it is deeply to be regretted, charges of wilful and corrupt misrepresentation against two privy counsellors and the secretary of government!

This well-timed volume touched upon almost every particular connected with slavery, and proved, not merely by arguments, but by facts, the inseparable evils of the system. The author was of course very obnoxious to the interested partisans of slavery. Some time afterwards, having been nominated by government to act as attorney-general in the colony of Mauritius, he proceeded there, agreeably to his appointment. No sooner had he landed, than a great part of the white population assembled to resist his admission to office, and a deputation represented to the governor the impossibility of maintaining the public peace if Mr. Jeremie were not dismissed. The governor was at length induced to comply with their clamourous demands, and Mr. Jeremie returned to England in the same vessel that carried him out. This is no new thing, for those who bring the truth to light to be objects of aversion and dread to those whose evil deeds it may exhibit.

Two interesting proofs of negro capacity are mentioned by Mr. Jeremie. The subject of one was the son of a dark coloured woman; his father was a white, and had sent him to England, where he received a good plain education in Liverpool. He spoke and wrote both the French and English languages with ease and fluency; but being, from his colour, *inadmissible to any office of respectability*, he was brought up as a watch-maker. He was afterwards recommended to Mr. Jeremie as a clerk, and filled that office with propriety and credit for six years,

when an opportunity offered of bringing him to the bar. He accordingly obtained a commission, became in time one of the leading advocates of the court, and enjoyed, in a high degree, the public confidence.

The other is more directly a negro case. In 1829, several slaves from Martinique took refuge in St. Lucie. At Martinique the slave-trade was avowedly carried on. The discussion occasioned by that circumstance caused it to be generally known, that a foreign slave, on reaching a British colony, becomes free. In consequence several, exceeding one hundred in number, came over in the year 1830. These persons, just escaped from a country of unmitigated slavery, did not (as the advocates of slavery asserted would be the case, if slaves were free without a previous process of training) betake themselves to a life of savage indolence, but immediately engaged themselves as labourers in those branches of business with which they were best acquainted; as masons, carpenters, domestics, or in clearing land, or as labourers on estates. Twenty-six clubbed together, and placed themselves under the direction of a free coloured man, an African. They erected a pottery: having taken a piece of land, three or four cleared it; others fished up coral and burnt lime; five or six quarried and got the stones, and performed the mason work; the remainder felled the timber and worked it in; and the little money that was requisite was supplied in advance by the contractor for a church, on the tiles to be furnished for the building. This pottery was completed; a plain structure, but of great solidity and surprising neatness. Thus had these poor despised sons of

Africa actually introduced into the country a new manufacture, for articles which were previously imported at great expense and inconvenience. All this had been effected simply by not interfering with them; by leaving them entirely to themselves. They were mustered once a month, to show that government had an eye on them, and were then allowed full liberty. One man only was sick in the hospital, and he was supported by the contributions of his companions.

In this year (1831) a manifesto was published by a body of West Indian proprietors in England, and circulated through every part of the kingdom. Its object was to counteract the addresses of the Anti-slavery Society, and to convince the people of England that the speedy annihilation of slavery was an evil to be dreaded and deprecated beyond calculation; that the condition of slavery was wonderfully improved, and every way worthy of being perpetuated: but it was a day too late to palm these representations on the good people of England. They had been slow enough to believe the testimony that implicated in the charges of cruelty and oppression names of high respectability, but they were now fully convinced of the facts, and that they belonged to the system rather than to the men; and the conviction was too deeply rooted in the public mind, for such a manifesto to shake it, that there was no toleration, no cure, no measure for slavery, but entire annihilation.

The liberal policy of government had for some time been making experiments, on a comparatively small scale, as to the capability and willingness of the African to support himself by labour, the

result of which had uniformly proved satisfactory. Two classes of persons were brought under its operation. First, those who had been recently brought from Africa by parties illegally carrying on the slave-trade, and were captured by British vessels constantly on the look-out to obstruct this illegal traffic. The several colonial governments were directed, that persons of this description, brought to any of the colonies, should be permitted to live there precisely on the same conditions as any other free persons of African birth and descent; that is, to earn their own living, and to be subject only to equal laws, which would restrain or chastise improper conduct. In case of its being found necessary to maintain them at the public expense, they were then justly compelled to labour for the public benefit, just as the inhabitant of a British workhouse is required to do what he can towards his own maintenance.

In Antigua, the number set free, in December, 1829, was upwards of three hundred. Five months afterwards the governor had the satisfaction of reporting, that he had not received a single complaint against them, nor had one been committed for the most trifling offence. There had been no applications on the score of poverty, but all seemed to be industriously and successfully occupied in providing for their own livelihood. Similar reports were communicated from other colonies, which encouraged the government to proceed to the emancipation of all the *crown slaves*, (as they were termed,) wherever they might be found. Under certain regulations, a considerable number of slaves had been forfeited or escheated to the crown. These were employed in public works, or let out

by government to the service of public functionaries or private individuals. The order in council directed, that in one month after its receipt (in Mauritius, from some peculiar circumstances, twelve months were allowed) all these slaves should be liberated. The aged, infirm, and orphans, were still to be provided for at government charge. The able-bodied were to be engaged at market wages, in the employments for which they were best qualified, and secured in the receipt of those wages for a year, provided they were willing to work; after that period, any fresh contract was to depend on the demands of the public service for labour, and the willingness of the negroes to be so employed: or they might be located on grants of land, which they were to cultivate for their support. The only West Indian colony in which the benevolent views of government met with any obstruction, was Trinidad. The council of that colony pleaded hard for either retaining as labourers, or selling as slaves, what they called the colonial gang. This was politely but firmly refused, and the colonists left to prove the correctness of Lord Goderich's reasoning, that the labour would be more efficiently and more economically performed by free men at fair wages, than by constrained slaves at a scanty subsistence. The whole number of slaves thus liberated, amounted to some thousands, and the event was as satisfactory as it was honourable to his majesty's government.

Among other pleasing results of the enlightened and liberal measures of government, this was not the least interesting:—the blacks and coloured free inhabitants of Jamaica, having been freed from the civil and political disabilities under which they

had laboured, solely on account of their skin, two gentlemen of colour were elected as members in the house of assembly. Mr. Price Watkis, a barrister, for the city of Kingston, and Mr. Maunderson, for the parish of St. James. The very first vote given by the former gentleman, was in support of a motion to adopt in that island the law of compulsory manumission; that is, of enabling a slave to claim the right of purchasing his freedom, if he had the means of doing so.* The measure, indeed,

* The need of such a law was evidenced by circumstances like the following. In such parts of the island of Jamaica as are chiefly devoted to the cultivation of coffee, or as pasture land, and which are remote both from sugar and from markets, the slaves, who are very fond of sugar, resort to various expedients to procure some substitute for the prepared article. They raise a few canes, employ a hand-mill to express the juice, and boil it, in their ordinary cooking vessels, to a thick substance. The whole of the utensils are but ill adapted to the process. Some time since, an ingenious and industrious slave contrived, for his own use, a cane mill, with vertical rollers, turned round by spokes, which acted as a lever. He also succeeded in improving his method of boiling. By the kindness of a neighbouring gentleman he procured a small iron boiler, which he fixed up with mason's work, and fitted with proper flues. He had previously got in cultivation his cane patches; and when his machinery was ready, and his canes were ripe, he and his wife, with help hired from among his fellow slaves, began on Friday night, and through Saturday, the day allowed for cultivating provision grounds, cut and carried the canes to the mill, expressed the juice, and proceeded to boil it. It is to be regretted, that, though a pious man, he was compelled to continue his operations through a great part of the sabbath. Alas, from the laws and customs of the land, and the necessities of the slaves, it was next to impossible even for christian slaves to preserve the day from desecration. To return to the success of the industrious negro. The quantity of sugar obtained, which

proved unsuccessful, but it was a triumph of liberal principles that such a question should even have been stirred in that assembly, which was justly denominated the strong hold of slavery.

Another important matter which engaged the attention of the British government, was that of affording encouragement to all well-meant and soberly-conducted endeavours to instruct the slaves

was of a very fair quality, fully repaid the cost and labour of the improved apparatus. He not only obtained enough for the wants of his own family, but a surplus for sale. He supplied not only his fellow-slaves, but also the whites on the estate. Before this slave had thus turned sugar planter, he had, by his industry and frugality, acquired some property, which he had carefully laid by, hoping to be able, in time, to purchase his freedom. The success of his sugar speculation both stimulated his desire, and accelerated his means. He had accumulated what he judged sufficient for the purpose, and applied to the attorney of the estate for leave to purchase his freedom. His project, in all probability, was to remain as a tenant and labourer on the estate, still serving his employer as before, only receiving wages for his labour, paying rent for his house and grounds, and securing to himself the right of more leisure to employ on his interesting little speculation. What master but would rejoice in witnessing, and in exhibiting to his companions around, the success and prosperity of such a man? How beneficial would his example have been in stimulating others to industry, good conduct, and enterprize! and with what perfect ease, safety, and advantage, might the blessing of freedom have been thus extended! But no: on presenting his application to the attorney, he was coldly informed, that his master had recently signified that no more of his slaves were to be allowed to purchase their manumission. Thus were his plans for the future in ne moment completely blasted! Was not such an instance cruel disappointment enough to rouse the injured spirit, to spread around, with a sense of the flagrant wrongs ured by an individual, a general determination to revolt inst the yoke of oppression?

in the christian religion, and their influence was employed in urging on the colonial governments the propriety of their concurrence in this particular. It was necessary that all religious teachers, not of the established church, should have a licence from the secretary of state or from the colonial governors. In reference to this, Lord Goderich expressed his hope that the governor would not withhold his licence from any person of honest intentions and decorous conduct, whom the slaves themselves might be disposed to receive as a teacher; justly observing, that the first and all-essential requisite, was an ardent zeal for the conversion of the heathen, together with a popular address, by which uncultivated minds are most powerfully affected; and that the propagation of christian knowledge, under whatever variety of church government, or difference of opinion on minor particulars, was incomparably preferable to that state of heathen darkness in which the slaves had, for so long a course of years, been permitted to live. These just and correct views were not, it appears, very generally adopted. There was still an infatuated opposition to the endeavours of every active and zealous teacher of christianity, whether connected with the established church, or with any other religious community. If the negroes were merely taught to repeat by rote a form of words which they could not understand, this might be tolerated, and, indeed, approved, as it served as an answer to the inquiries of the British government and people, who were told that clergymen resided on the spot,—catechists visited the negroes,—the people were instructed in the christian religion: but, should these clergymen or catechists attempt to teach the

negroes to read, or to impress on their understandings and hearts any direct and intelligible instruction, they were immediately discouraged and dismissed. The following instance will serve as a proof that such was the case. A conversation took place between several planters, or managers of estates, in Jamaica, on the question, whether or not a clergyman, who had been lately appointed to a district in the parish, should be permitted to instruct the slaves. It was unanimously agreed, that, though there was nothing against the individual himself, he ought not, on any account, to be admitted on the estates, because he was a member of the Church Missionary Society, and it was high time to put down fanaticism in the country! "But," asked an overseer present, addressing himself to the speaker of that sentiment, "the catechist is still attending, sir, is he to go on?" "Oh, the bishop's catechist; What does he teach? Does he teach reading?" "No, sir; he teaches them to repeat the church catechism." "Nothing more?" "No, sir." "That can do no harm; it will do no good, but it can do no harm. He may go on."

It will have been all along observed, that the colonists in general were disposed to resist or to evade all the provisions of his majesty's government for ameliorating the condition of the coloured population, and for diffusing such knowledge, and encouraging such habits, as might be expected at length to qualify the slave to receive emancipation. They went farther than this; for, both in social intercourse, and at public meetings, it was common, without any reserve, to speak in the most contumelious manner of the interference of his

majesty's government with the long-established usages of slave colonies, as also to express a determination to impede and weaken the provisions enacted for the protection of the slave. At a meeting of delegates in Jamaica, some of the principal slave-holders declared that they would not be dictated to by the mother government, and that they would spill the last drop of their blood before the slaves should be free. Such discussions and determinations had a direct tendency to excite alarm, and inflame the negro population. As they were becoming more and more enlightened, they read among themselves the daily papers, and thus became acquainted with the speeches and sentiments of the colonists. From the daily record of facts and opinions, two things must have been very evident to them. First, that the government and people of England were endeavouring to work good for them; and, second, that the colonists were determined to thwart those endeavours. On these they would very readily ground a third surmise, viz. that the British government had sent out orders for the extension of their privileges, if not for their entire emancipation, which the interested colonists had suppressed.

It had long been a trick of West Indian policy, when any measure favourable to negro emancipation, or at all bearing upon it, was in progress, to excite among the slaves some trifling brawl with their managers, which was then dignified with the formidable name of an insurrection; the military force were called out to suppress it, at a wanton expense of negro blood; and then intelligence was sent home, by way of proving the unfitness of the negroes for emancipation. In 1815, when

Mr. Wilberforce gave notice of a bill for the registration of all colonial slaves, a universal clamour was excited in the West Indies. The colonists affected to confound it with an act for emancipation. In Barbadoes, a plantation dispute happened to arise between the slaves and their managers. The circumstance was, in itself, a mere trifle, a matter of frequent occurrence, and wholly unconnected with the projected measure. But an aggravated account of it was spread through the island; the people, in a state of unusual excitement, readily gave credit to any rumour, however extravagant. Troops were called out, especially the local militia, chiefly composed of the low whites. They rushed to the scene of disorder, and commenced the work of death with unhesitating fury. They met with no resistance. The slaves fled, and were pursued, in all directions. At least 1,000 were massacred in cold blood, and some hundreds more were gibbeted, before the governor, who was on a visit to a neighbouring island, returned, and put a stop to this wanton effusion of human blood. The tidings of this *insurrection*, as it was called by the colonists—we should say *massacre*—reached England a few days before the second reading of the registration bill, and answered the end intended; the consequence was, the rejection of the bill.

The movements of 1823 excited a similar clamour. Measures were adopted for the benefit of the negroes, on communicating which to the crown colonies, as well as to the chartered states, the government, with a generous but misplaced delicacy, *recommended*, instead of *commanding*, their adoption. In consequence, the colonists, instead of complying, clamoured. In Demerara the ru-

mours and the outcry reached the slaves: a number of them were proceeding to the governor, to learn from him the real state of the case. The very act of assembling for that purpose, though in a peaceable manner, was deemed rebellion, and the work of slaughter soon commenced. The negroes were hunted and shot like wild beasts. Numbers were gibbeted by the summary sentence of courts-martial; others had their flesh torn from their limbs by cruel whippings, to the extent of a thousand lashes; and, to crown all, a pious and devoted missionary (Smith), who had taught the poor slaves those christian lessons of mercy, which restrained their hands from shedding blood, was arraigned as a traitor, tried with a solemn mockery of justice, and condemned to die as a felon. When the news of this insurrection reached Barbadoes, a spirit of violent rancour was artfully excited against Mr. Shrewsbury, the Wesleyan missionary. His chapel was demolished by a party of *respectable gentlemen,* and he was driven away from the island.

Rumours of plots and insurrections from other places were continually assailing the public ear, confirming the prejudices of those who dreaded the consequences of negro emancipation, but establishing in others the conviction, that the horrible system alone was chargeable with all the mischief, and that in its subversion alone a remedy could be found. British justice was roused. Mr. (now Lord) Brougham brought forward the case of the missionary Smith, and held up the conduct of the authorities of Demerara to the just execration of mankind. Mr. (now Lord) Denman subsequently brought before parliament the shameful

administration of justice in Jamaica, by which many unfortunate negroes were condemned to suffer death.

The movements of government, in 1831, produced great excitement among the whites, although nothing was actually done, even in the way of partial alleviations; but a determination was expressed, on the part of government, that an act of considerable extent would be recommended to the adoption of the colonial assemblies, under pain of fiscal inflictions on such as should reject the recommendation. No sooner had the "menaced violation of their dearest rights" come to the knowledge of the planters in Jamaica, than meetings were held, and protests and resolutions of the most inflammatory description were passed, threatening resistance to the mother country, and renunciation of the king's allegiance. These were very foolish threats. The whole white population of Jamaica, including men, women, and children, does not amount to 15,000; of these, not more than 4,000 could be supposed capable of bearing arms. The king's troops alone, stationed on the island, whose business it would have been to enforce submission, were nearly as numerous, and far more effective, than the insurgents. They would also be aided by the coloured population (amounting to 40,000), who are steadily attached to the British state, beside the 330,000 slaves, who would not hesitate whether to take sides with their oppressors or their liberators. The threat of revolt was, in itself, perfectly ludicrous. It had, however, a natural tendency to quicken the attention, and awaken the suspicion of the slaves, when every newspaper they read, and every rumour they heard, convinced them

that their masters were in a state of almost open war with the supreme authorities of the empire, on measures intimately connected with their comfort and happiness. However, they seemed quite disposed to quietness and forbearance, and patiently to wait the movements of government in their favour.

It had always been the custom to allow the slaves in Jamaica three or four holidays at Christmas, which they were allowed to spend in any merriment they pleased, provided it did not interfere with the public peace; an allowance was also furnished them by their masters, of rum, sugar, and cod-fish, with which to regale themselves. Such a season, would of course, be very differently employed, according to the different dispositions of the negroes. The improvident and dissipated would spend their time, and consume their property, in rioting and sensuality. The industrious and thrifty would probably take the opportunity of bringing their provision grounds into more complete cultivation, or of making some little erection or improvement for the comfort of their families; and the pious would very likely fix on that period for the enjoyment of some special meeting with their christian friends and pastors, in acts of joyful religious solemnity, perhaps the opening, or the anniversary of a chapel, or the celebration of the Lord's supper. To whatever pursuit they devoted it, *all* parties very highly prized the period of relaxation.

But this was too great an indulgence, and repeated attempts had been made to abridge the dole of enjoyment. A clause in one of their colonial statutes, in 1826, (which was rejected by the king

in council, on account of its persecuting spirit and tendency,) recognizes the usage of slaves being allowed three holidays at the usual seasons of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. A subsequent act, in 1829, first discovered a disposition to tamper with the feelings of the slaves respecting these holidays. The Easter holidays were omitted. The council amended the bill by restoring the word, probably supposing it had been an inadvertent omission. However, in the end, this bill also was disallowed. In the existing and allowed act of 1831, a similar abridgment was made, but of Whitsuntide instead of Easter; the act also failed to specify the number of days, and only mentioned the holidays of Christmas and Easter. It is hard to think that it was a mere act of wanton cruelty in the framers of the law. It is not, perhaps, without foundation, that it has been supposed to have originated, either in a malignant disposition to retaliate for the loss of the persecuting clause of the former bill, or as a trap for the unwary slaves, to draw them in to commit themselves in acts of turbulence.

This abridgment of the privileges of the slave, did not escape the eye of the colonial secretary, Lord Goderich, who remarked, in his despatch, that *two* holidays, instead of *three*, were allowed; and also that the slave was deprived of the security formerly given to him, that he should enjoy the usual number of days. His lordship requested that this suggestion, and others contained in his despatch, should be attended to. But the assembly refused to enter at all into the consideration of the despatch. It was unceremoniously ordered to lie on the table, and no further notice was taken of it.

As the act did not come into operation till November, the seasons of Easter and Whitsuntide were past, and Christmas was the first time on which the attention of the slaves would be particularly called to this new version of the holidays. It happened that Christmas-day fell on a Sunday. The slaves, therefore, were entitled to the three successive days, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the Sunday being already unquestionably the right of the negro. In some parts of the island the three days were granted as usual, and the negroes peaceably returned to their work on the Thursday. But in two districts, those of St. James and Trelawney, on the north-west of the island, advantage was taken of the loose wording of the act, and an attempt was made to deprive the negroes of one or two of their holidays. Whether on the Tuesday, does not clearly appear, but certainly on the Wednesday, the slaves were ordered out to work. Considering the day their own, both by law and by immemorial usage, they refused to comply with the oppressive requirement.

Another cause of irritation, had been the unnecessary issuing of a royal proclamation, with which, it appears, the governors of the several colonies had been furnished, to be used only in case of great emergency. The case supposed, was, that the negroes, in consequence of the exertions in England on their behalf, had been erroneously led to believe that orders for their emancipation had been issued, and, in consequence of that belief, had been guilty of insubordination. The highest displeasure of royalty was expressed at this supposed conduct; the slaves were enjoined to render entire submission to the laws, and dutiful obedience

to their masters; and colonial governors were directed to enforce, by all legal means in their power, the punishment of any person who might disturb the public tranquillity. Now, it might be very proper for a governor to be furnished with such a document, to make use of in case of necessity, just as some parents think it necessary to support their authority by hanging a rod in full view; but it could scarcely be considered necessary or desirable to brandish the instrument of terror in the face of an unoffending family. Such, however, was the policy adopted in Jamaica. It appears that not the slightest disposition to insubordination or discontent had manifested itself, when some officious persons recommended the issuing of the proclamation, on the 24th of December, as if to embitter to the slaves their approaching holidays, if not to provoke them to acts of insubordination, with which they were unjustly charged. The proclamation excited universal consternation, both among blacks and whites. "Where," it was eagerly enquired, "is this dreadful rebellion raging, which has called forth so alarming an annunciation?" All was doubt and trepidation, and the mind of the public was prepared for some direful events. The only information that could be obtained was, that the negroes on an estate, called Salt Spring, had behaved very insolently to their chief manager. As the population on this estate had been, for some years, rapidly decreasing, it is probable the negroes might have matters of complaint to lay before the manager, which he might construe or provoke into insolence. Besides this, it was rumoured that the slaves had determined not to work after New Year's day, without being made free.

This, however, appears to have been but idle rumour, and certainly did not call for the formidable measures resorted to, which were much more likely to drive to desperation than to conciliate. Indeed, those who had lived long in the colony had heard similar rumours propagated by timid people, on the return of Christmas, for the foregoing forty years. Had the negroes been dealt with by kindness and reason, assured of the free enjoyment of their accustomed holidays, and promised that, whenever legal measures were adopted on their behalf, they should be immediately made known and acted upon, and that, meanwhile, they should be treated with humanity, there is not a doubt but they would have remained perfectly quiet. Instead of this, magistrates were appealed to, and detachments of soldiers called out, for the purpose of restoring order. It is true, that one of the officers endeavoured to expostulate with the negroes, assuring them that he was their friend, and entreating them to listen to him; but this was not until they were too much exasperated to hear reason. Still, however, they did not attempt to do any injury. Soon after, a party of fifty men of the militia arrived, when almost every negro on the estate disappeared. The next day they began to return, and only six of the principal offenders were absent. It was, in fact, nothing more than one of those plantation brawls which were continually occurring, and which generally ended in a few cart-whippings, but which, on this occasion, was magnified into a matter of sufficient importance to excite general consternation through the island, by issuing the formidable proclamation, which was read on the 24th of December. These

proceedings would naturally form a topic of conversation among the negroes, during their Christmas holidays, and excite many heart-burnings as to the oppressions under which they suffered, and conjectures as to the probability of the benevolent intentions of the British king and government being opposed and suppressed by the local authorities. From this the transition would be easy to resolves of resistance, if not of resentment, especially under the exciting influence of ardent spirits, which, we are informed, were allowed them, as an accustomed indulgence, during the holidays. Then the rash attempt to deprive them of a portion of their holiday, was enough to wind their exasperation to the highest pitch, and rouse them to deeds of blood and violence. In such circumstances, had we to record the universal rising of the slaves to massacre their white oppressors, it would be matter of regret rather than of surprise. Such, however, was not the case. The slaves simply refused to turn out to work on a day which they justly considered their own. This was, by the chief magistrate of the district, assumed to be an actual state of rebellion, which a military force was called forth to suppress and punish. The captain received orders to attack the negroes, and to take as few prisoners as possible, that is, to slaughter as many as he could. The negroes, on receiving intimation of the coming storm, fled from their houses, carrying with them their children and their property, which they concealed in the woods; but they had neither done, nor attempted any injury to the property of their masters. Their depôt was discovered and burnt by the military, as were the houses they

had forsaken, an act of wanton destruction, and of serious loss both to masters and servants.

The flame thus kindled rapidly spread. Whether in consequence of any preconcerted plan, or whether simultaneously instigated only by the irritation and terror of the moment, the negroes, in many parts of the island, rose and set fire to the trash-houses, (or sheds, in which the stalks of the cane are deposited in reserve for the next year's fuel,) and, in some, to the sugar-works and cane-pieces. The whole number of estates, on which more or less destruction took place, amounted to sixty-four. It does not appear that the negroes attempted the life of any person; but their determined insubordination was very evident. Whether conciliation and reason might, at this time, have in any degree prevailed to arrest the evil, must remain a question; the time was past in which they might have altogether averted it. That this might have been the case, had it been attempted a few days earlier, may be fairly presumed from the fact, that, in the midst of the disturbed districts, there were spots on which a different course had been pursued, and which were preserved in peace and order. The custos of Trelawney thus wrote, while describing the scenes of horror around him:—"I am happy to inform you, that (the negroes on) every estate under my charge have continued faithfully at their work, and completely protected their masters' property, which is very gratifying to me. I do not wish to make any invidious remarks, but, if other gentlemen had acted with the same kindness, and taken the same pains to explain the real nature of things as I have done, I do not think that

this unfortunate insurrection would have been so general, as in St. James's, in particular, their vengeance seems pointed against certain individuals."

Yes, there were individuals, who had distinguished themselves as the oppressors of the negro, the determined opposers of every measure for increasing his knowledge and happiness; who had openly declared their determination to resist, even to the last drop of their blood, the interference of the British government on behalf of the slaves; who had, in no very measured terms, threatened the alienation of the colony from Britain, and turning it over to America (a measure which the negroes always regarded with the utmost dread and horror); and, finally, who insulted and irritated the slaves, by withholding some portion of their accustomed holiday. The former great acts of oppression, filled to the brim the cup of injury and provocation; the last comparatively trifling grievance was the one superadded drop which made it run over.

These were the men and measures, to whom the calamity might justly be traced; but, strange as it may appear, they were not the parties charged with it; the outcry was raised against the laborious peaceful missionaries of various denominations, who had been labouring to impart to the hapless slave the principles and the consolations of the gospel, which alone could reconcile to a lot so hard, and enable men to do good, and wish well to those from whom they are receiving every kind of evil. Yet these were the men accused of fomenting rebellion, and against whom the clamour of popular fury was directed,

as the authors and originators of the wide-spreading calamity. They were spoken of, even by persons whose official character required them to protect and treat as innocent every man who had not been proved guilty, as "*the incendiary preachers*," and many other epithets, as opprobrious as they were unjust.

Each of the various societies in England, on sending out missionaries, laid upon them the most explicit injunctions, constantly to keep in view the purely spiritual nature of their embassy; to abstain from all interference in secular and civil affairs, and to impress on the minds of their flocks the duty of a peaceable, quiet, and orderly deportment, as consistent with the principles of the gospel. These instructions appear, in every instance, to have been conscientiously observed; and such was the attachment and confidence of the negroes towards their devoted teachers, that the latter possessed and exerted an influence, which, in very many instances, restrained violence, and excited a spirit of forbearance and fidelity, by which the christian slave was honoured, and even the oppressive master protected and spared. And yet the men, who deserved to be regarded as public benefactors, were execrated and reviled as the pests of society. "To do good and suffer ill, is eminently characteristic of the christian." On this occasion the Baptists and Wesleyans bore the largest portion of obloquy: the Moravians also bore a share in the reproach: nor did the ministers of the church of England escape. To have discovered any thing like zeal for the instruction of the negroes, was a sufficient pretext on which to ground the charge of exciting

or countenancing rebellion, and to hurry away the suspected person to a loathsome prison, and almost to a violent death. How little the missionaries had to do with the rebellion, was afterwards clearly proved, and the reproach of the people of the Lord effectually rolled away.

At the commencement of the Christmas holidays, the missionaries of the several denominations went forth, unsuspectingly, to improve the season of leisure in such a way as they considered most congenial to the circumstances and condition of their flocks, and most likely to avert the injury and secure the advantages of such a period; for, among negro slaves, as well as among civilized Englishmen and well educated children, if holiday time is not beneficially employed, it will be mischievously perverted—

> "For Satan finds some mischief still
> For idle hands to do."

Some, therefore, of the missionaries, contrived one scene of cheerful solemnity to engage the attention of their flocks, and others another. Mr. Box, a Wesleyan minister, was gone to attend a missionary meeting at Kingston, when a warrant was issued for his apprehension at Falmouth, which he thus unconsciously escaped. He was, however, taken into custody at Kingston; and if it be asked "Why? What evil had he done?" it must be replied, he had neither done nor imagined evil, but was conscientiously pursuing the duties of his sacred calling, and endeavouring, wherever he discerned symptoms of insurrection, to suppress them to the utmost of his power. The only ground of his apprehension, for he was not even accused of any *act*, was his being "*one of the*

incendiary preachers." He was confined five days in a loathsome jail, but enjoying the support of a good conscience, and the presence of God. When discharged, the only apology that could be offered for his imprisonment was, that it was under the mistaken opinion that he was a *Baptist*, and not a *Wesleyan* missionary.

On Monday, Dec. 26, several of the Baptist missionaries met at Montego Bay, for the purpose of opening a new chapel on the ensuing day. Messrs. Abbott and Gardner, who had arrived earlier, were engaged in holding a preparatory prayer meeting, when Mr. Knibb and Mr. Whitehorne, with their wives, reached the place. From Mr. Knibb they received the first intimation of the discontented feelings of the negroes; Mr. Blyth (a Presbyterian missionary) having that morning informed him of a rumour he had heard, and which he feared was too true, that the negroes did not intend working after the Christmas holidays, as they laboured under a mistaken impression that the king had sent them their freedom, which their masters had withheld. Mr. Knibb had, in consequence, used the most strenuous exertions to counteract the idea, by going himself, and sending round a messenger, one of his deacons, wherever he thought it likely that his influence would extend, assuring the negroes that no such orders had come out, and entreating them to return to their work as usual. Next day the rumour was heard from different quarters. At the close of the service, at the opening of the chapel, Mr. Knibb addressed the congregation in the following touching manner:—"My dear hearers, and especially those who belong to this church, pay

great attention to what I have to say. It is now nearly seven years since I left my native land to preach the gospel to you, and when I came, I made up my mind to live and die to promote your spiritual welfare. Till yesterday I had hoped that God had blessed my poor labours, and the labours of your dear minister,* who loves you and prays for you, and who is now in England for his health. But I am pained to the soul on being told that many of you have agreed not to work any more for your owners, and I fear it is true. I learn that some wicked people have persuaded you that the king has made you free. Hear me! I love your souls; I would not tell you a lie for the world! I assure you it is false; I entreat you not to believe it, but to go to your work again as formerly. If you have any love to Jesus Christ, to religion, to your friends in England, do not be led away. God commands you to be obedient; and if you do not do as He commands you, He will not do you any good." These and similar entreaties from the other ministers were received by many of the negroes in a sullen rebellious spirit,† though some promised to follow the counsel of their friends. The insubordination was every hour on the increase. The evening service at the chapel was interrupted by some mischievous persons throwing in fire. The next day the missionaries proposed to return to their respective homes, but it was not considered safe for any to

* Mr. Burchell.

† Indeed, some were deluded enough to believe that the missionaries had been paid by their masters to conceal from their knowledge the grant of freedom from England.

go to the interior of the island, which by this time was in a dreadful state of confusion: fires in every direction, and the military on active service. They, therefore, proceeded together to Falmouth, where they united with several ministers, both Presbyterian and Wesleyan, in a prayer meeting at the Wesleyan chapel, for the special purpose of imploring the Almighty to suppress the rebellion which was spreading desolation and destruction around. Thus they continued, morning and evening, holding prayer meetings on this behalf; for these good men had learned from the word of God, that it was their duty to "pray for the peace of the city where they dwelt," "for kings, and all that are in authority; that we may lead quiet and peaceable lives, in all godliness and honesty;" and praying men, however the ungodly may despise and persecute them, are the bulwarks of a nation.

Still the confusion spread. On Saturday, Dec. 31, martial law was declared at Falmouth, and the missionaries were distressed with the apprehension that they probably would be called upon to take arms; a measure most repugnant to their feelings, both on account of the society in which they would be called to mingle, and the incongeniality of war with their sacred profession as ministers of the gospel of peace. On New Year's day, the sabbath, they held repeated meetings for prayer, and again addressed most urgent entreaties to the negroes to be peaceable and obedient. On Monday they were put upon military duty. That night Mr. Abbott was put on guard, and relieved in the morning by Mr. Knibb; and in the course of the day both of them, together with Mr. Whitehorne, were

arrested, and sent to head-quarters at Montego Bay, being refused permission even to see their wives and children, and without at all knowing what charge had been preferred against them. Their persons were searched; they were paraded through the streets, preceded by a sergeant with his sword drawn, and guarded on each side by four men with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets. Thus they were conducted to the beach, a spectacle both to friends and foes; while at noon-day they entered an open canoe, to go twenty-five miles, exposed to the weather full five hours, and without any refreshment. On landing at Montego Bay, they were again paraded about under the same guard, and conducted from one magistrate to another. Their wives, who had travelled by land, and reached the place some hours earlier, met them in the street with a little refreshment. They were then conducted to the court house and placed in the jury box, with a candle stuck in a bottle placed before them, that they might be the better gazed at. From the insinuations and remarks of the guards and others, they gathered that an idea was entertained that the sectarian preachers were the promoters and directors of the rebellion. The language and conduct of the guard was most profane and brutal. Mr. Knibb, being fatigued, asked permission of one of the guards to lie down on the bare boards. The inhuman reply was, (with a volley of oaths), "If you attempt to move one inch, I'll thrust this bayonet through you." Then pointing to Mr. Knibb, "This is the notorious Knibb, who robs our negroes of their macaronies; but never mind, he will be *hung to-morrow!*" On Mr. Abbott complaining of a

violent pain in his back, the same guard said, "Hold your tongue, you rascal, or I'll thrust this bayonet through you; and I won't speak twice to you, you villain." The good men feeling exhausted, partook of the refreshments given them in the street by their wives; when one of the officers said, "See! those fellows are taking the blessed sacrament!" In the midst of such insults, and what was to them infinitely more distressing, of such profanity, they expected to pass the night; but God, who is always present with his people, to succour and protect them, raised them up a friend when they least expected it. About eleven o'clock at night, Mr. Roby, a collector of customs, and an old friend of Mr. Whitehorne's, (who was a native of the island), came hastily into the jury box, generously extended his hand to his persecuted friend, and said, "How are you? I am sorry to see you here. I do not know what charges are against you; but if I can do any thing to make you more comfortable than you are at present I shall be glad." The unfeeling guards attempted to drive Mr. R. from the jury box, saying, the missionaries were prisoners, and had ruined the country, and much more to the same effect. After very great exertion Mr. R. succeeded in obtaining their discharge for the night, and conducted them to his office, where they thankfully reposed their weary limbs, acknowledging the goodness and faithfulness of God, who hitherto helped them, and resigning the future to his paternal care. Next morning the kind-hearted Mr. R. brought their wives to breakfast, and they had once more the happiness of taking a meal together. What christian can read

the record of his unsought and disinterested acts of kindness, without praying that they may be numbered with the "cup of cold water that shall in no wise lose its reward;" that when his hour of trial comes, the consolations of religion may sustain his mind, and the sympathy of some kind friend, like himself, may soothe his spirit, as he soothed those of the persecuted missionaries?

But this indefatigable friend rested not, until he had procured the following acceptable document. "The major-general having handed over three Baptist missionaries, Wm. Knibb, Wm. Whitehorne, and Thos. Abbott to me, and there being no specific charges against them, they may be liberated, on giving security in fifty pounds each, not to leave the town of Montego Bay, and to appear whenever called upon to do so. Richard Barrett, Custos." Immediately, Mr. Roby, (collector of customs,) Mr. Manderson, (a member of assembly,) and Mr. Guthrie, (collecting constable,) became their sureties, and they were released.

It has been stated that zealous ministers of the church of England shared the obloquy and sufferings of the missionaries of other denominations. Two catechists, employed by the Church Missionary Society, Messrs. Joseph Phillips, and Hampson Wynter, were imprisoned at Kingston, secured by handcuffs, till bailed by the clergyman of the parish. Not the shadow of a charge was brought against them, except the surmise that they might be Baptist preachers; yet one of the officers concerned in the arrest requested that Mr. Phillips might be tried at once at the drumhead and shot.

Equal ferocity was manifested against Mr. Bar-

low, who, though not in connexion with the Baptist Missionary Society, had been engaged a few months at Annatto Bay as a substitute for Mr. Flood, who was in England for his health. Mr. Barlow resided at a considerable distance from the scene of disturbance, but was seized in his own house by three troopers, and dragged to Buff Bay, a distance of fifteen miles. Not a single charge was brought against him, yet was he confined in a filthy dungeon, the effluvia of which was enough to breed disease, with scarcely any thing to eat or drink; scorched all day with the sun; watched by persons with swords drawn and muskets loaded, and denied all intercourse with his friends, except in their presence; and debarred the use of paper, pen, and ink. An excellent clergyman in the neighbourhood, well acquainted with Mr. Barlow, and who, long previous to these disturbances, had borne a most honourable and decided testimony to the exemplary worth of his character, contrived to convey to him a petition to the governor, which Mr. B. signed with a pencil under the covering of his bed. Regardless of the obloquy to which this generous conduct towards a persecuted missionary would expose him, this excellent clergyman, in the true spirit of the good Samaritan, travelled across the island to Kingston, a distance of fifty miles, to convey the petition, which was presented by the resident Baptist missionaries of Kingston and Spanish Town, Messrs. Tinson and Taylor, who speedily obtained from the governor an order for the liberation of their friend.

Meanwhile, the grossest falsehoods were industriously propagated among the white population against the persecuted missionaries; and the most

furious and malignant abuse filled the columns of the newspapers—such as "Doubt no longer exists as to the instigators of the rebellion. Three Baptist missionaries have just been forwarded under an escort to head-quarters at Montego Bay, where a military tribunal is sitting, and where three rebels were tried and shot yesterday. Shooting is, however, too honourable a death for men whose conduct has occasioned so much bloodshed and the loss of so much property. There are fine hanging woods in St. James's and Trelawney, and we do sincerely hope that the bodies of all the methodist preachers who may be convicted of sedition may diversify the scene." "God forbid that we should ever advocate a cause from personal prejudice to the injury even of the methodist preachers; neither would we express a wish that execution should precede trial; but we are decidedly of opinion that if evidence could be elicited to prove their guilt, it would be a grateful exhibition to the island to see a dozen of them gibbeted." In the same incendiary spirit, the editor of one of their journals called upon the public to raze their chapels to the ground, and then take away their lives.

The bailing of the missionaries provoked the most furious rage in those who thirsted for their blood, and would hardly have been satisfied with inflicting one death on them. The authorities by whom this act of justice and liberality had been performed, shared largely in the abuse which was dealt out against "the pernicious and traitorous doctrines" of the "Baptist and other missionaries, who were labouring with heart and voice to stir up the slaves to rebel against their masters and

legal protectors, to take into their own hands the means of making themselves free, and to scruple not to shed the blood which it ought to be their first duty to protect." After a long tissue of falsehood in a similar strain, the utmost indignation was expressed that such villains should share the protection of government. The excitement produced by such inflammatory declamation must have been frightful. Hence the missionaries, on their release, observed that the look of misery depicted on every countenance was only exchanged for the more hateful one of malice and revenge, when they beheld an innocent and unoffending missionary, whom they unjustly charged with being the author of their ruin.

Even the less prejudiced and more enlightened portion of the inhabitants thought that the missionaries had been the unintentional cause of the calamity, by having read or preached to the slaves on passages of scripture, which they had perverted, and mistaken the references to spiritual liberty and spiritual conflicts, as authorizing them to attempt, by violent means, the achievement of their temporal freedom. These surmises, in persons whose sentiments were worth regarding, must have been ten times more painful to the missionaries than the scurrilous abuse of unprincipled libellers. Even their liberal and candid friend, Mr. Roby, strongly urged their leaving the island, assuring them that they would never be able to remain in the country, on account of the prejudice existing against them. The magistrates were exceedingly desirous thus to get rid of them. To the subtle workings of hostility they made no reply; but to

the timid but well-meant suggestions of friends, they said they were conscious of their innocence, and did not fear any judicial investigation; that they were sent out and supported by a large and respectable society in England, and had duties to fulfil to it; also, that they had churches in the island looking to them for instruction, and that they could not see that it was the path of duty to leave them. Personal safety was by no means the first consideration with them, and even the pain of being considered in any way accessary to outrages, which they would willingly have died to prevent, could be endured, while they had the satisfaction of knowing, not only that they were guiltless of criminal intention, but that they had always exercised the utmost circumspection in their selection of subjects and phrases; and though they dared not in their ministrations suppress any part of the counsel of God, they had carefully avoided taking a passage, the meaning of which might be so misconstrued, when the same doctrine might be taught from other passages, not liable to similar abuse; and they calmly committed their cause into the hands of Him who judgeth righteously, and who they knew could clear up their character to the satisfaction of friends and the confusion of foes, while they gave themselves up to prayer for the restoration of peace and order.

The general scene was truly affecting; where plenty and fertility had recently reigned, all was now a barren and desolate waste; nothing but bare walls remained of the sugar-works, pens, and beautiful villas with which the country had been thickly studded. Faithful servants were flying in

every direction, with furniture or boxes, which they had saved from the wreck of their masters' property.

At this most critical juncture, some new missionaries arrived at the island, together with Mr. Burchell, who had been to England for his health, after having been several years stationed at Montego Bay, where he had a flourishing congregation, and where a spacious chapel had been erected.

Mr. Burchell was immediately arrested, on what charge he knew not; his papers seized, and he kept in close custody for eleven days, being allowed to go on deck only twice during that time. Meanwhile, Mr. Gardner also had been arrested, a negro having made some deposition which appeared to involve him in the rebellion. He was liberated on bail. Mr. Knibb and his companions were again summoned to the court-house, on charges of having been *preaching* in an unlicensed house to a *large congregation* of negroes and others. The fact was, that on the morning of the sabbath they spent an hour or two in *prayer* in the house where they dwelt; the servants of the house and *five or six free* persons being present. On this explanation being given, they were discharged, the complaint being pronounced frivolous and vexatious. To many such frivolous and vexatious attacks were the unoffending missionaries subjected. Messrs. Whitehorne, Gardner, Knibb, and Abbott having, by permission of the captain, and with the consent of those gentlemen who had become their securities, visited their old friend, Mr. Burchell, on board ship, were severely reprimanded by a certain colonel, who said that they were all

liable to be tried by martial law and shot; charged them with being, by the pernicious doctrines they had infused into the minds of the slaves, the authors of all the devastation, and informed them that their functions had ceased; that is, that they were no longer permitted to discharge the duties of their ministry among the people. This, however, remained to be proved. After much bloodshed—for the negroes, both men and women, had been hunted and shot like wild beasts, without any other charge than that of fleeing in terror, and many, on whom the slightest suspicion rested, were summarily tried and executed under martial law—the rebellion was considered to be suppressed, and on Feb. 5, martial law was taken off. The missionaries then hoped that they should soon be released from their recognizances, and permitted to return home to visit their people, and to procure evidence for establishing their innocence; but new trials awaited them. The white mob, instigated by those who ought to have suppressed violence and protected innocence, with lawless violence demolished the chapels, and threatened the lives of the missionaries. The first chapel destroyed was that of Mr. Burchell, at Montego Bay, Feb. 8th; as Mr. Knibb and Mr. Abbott walked along the town, they were met by Mr. Lewin, a gentleman who had all along advocated their cause and defended their persons. He hastily entreated them to go home, as a mob was collecting to destroy the chapel. Immediate application was made to the magistracy for protection, but excuses were made; no magistrate could be prevailed on to use his influence or authority to disperse the rioters, and in a few

hours that beautiful chapel was razed to the ground. The mob having effected this work of demolition, were about to pull down the house in which the missionaries dwelt, but finding that they had left it, were diverted from their purpose. One magistrate observed, that "he would not on any account be in the skin of one of the missionaries that night;" and another (who afterwards sent out a warrant against Mr. Burchell) declared, "that any person who afforded the missionaries shelter that night, *should* have the house pulled down about his ears." Nor were these mere unfounded assertions or empty threats, for it is a well established fact, that both magistrates and militia officers were actively engaged in the destruction of the chapels. Mr. Manderson, a gentleman of colour, who had already proved himself the friend of truth and humanity, generously invited the persecuted missionaries to make his house their home; whither they went, accompanied by their kind friends, Messrs. Roby and Lewin, who guarded them with loaded pistols. It was, however, considered unsafe for them to remain on shore, and application was made to procure a shelter for them in some of the British vessels in the harbour. The captains were *afraid* to receive them, lest the people on shore should, in consequence of their protecting the objects of colonial vengeance, refuse to load their vessels with colonial cargo. One captain urged them to seek protection of an American captain. But at length Captain Trefusis, though apparently unwilling, consented to receive them, saying, that if they were in danger, he was bound to afford protection to any of his Majesty's subjects. Of this

protection, they gratefully availed themselves. Feb. 9, understanding that the town was more quiet than they had anticipated, they went on shore, when they received the pleasing intelligence that Messrs. Whitehorne and Abbott were released from bail, no evidence having appeared to criminate them, and Mr. Burchell from the personal restraint under which he had been held.

It was considered advisable that Mr. Burchell should leave the island immediately; having received his discharge, he was at full liberty to do so; from the excited state of the island, it would be obviously both useless and unsafe for him to remain on land, especially as it was well known that expressions had been used threatening his life. It was therefore decided that he should go in an American vessel, about to sail in a day or two. But the malice of the enemies of religion would not suffer them to endure the quiet departure of one of its advocates, whom they had singled out as the object of their vengeance. A petition was presented to the custos, requesting him to prevent Mr. B. from leaving. This the custos said he could not do; but, in this extremity, a free coloured man, named Samuel Stennett, was procured, who made a deposition on oath, that Mr. Burchell had told him and others to go among the negroes in the country, and tell them that freedom was theirs, that they must fight and pray for it, and then they would get it; and that he had heard Parson Gardner say the same.

Here then was a specific charge, on which both these missionaries were arrested and committed to prison, to take their trial at the next Cornwall

assizes. Meanwhile, the work of spoliation proceeded; the chapels were razed to the ground, and the houses of missionaries entered, and plundered of books and other property. This was invariably the work of *white persons*, headed by magistrates, gentry, and there was even a clergyman who was active in collecting the mob, and was present with them, and gloried in the destruction of a house consecrated to the service of God. So true it is, that neither education, however polished, nor office, however sacred, can ensure propriety of deportment, where the grace of God is wanting. That *alone*, while it brings salvation, effectually directs the attention to whatsoever things are true, honest, pure, lovely, and of good report.

On the destruction of their chapels, the missionaries presented a respectful memorial to the governor of the island, declaring their innocence of having intentionally, by word or deed, directly or indirectly, been instrumental or accessory in the promotion of the unhappy disturbances in the island; and that they never had led the slaves to conclude that freedom was theirs, or to draw any of those erroneous conclusions which had been assigned as the causes of their late violent conduct; but, that, on the contrary, they had heartily deplored and condemned the proceedings of the slaves from the commencement, not only on account of the ruinous consequences, both to masters and slaves, but also on account of the disgrace brought on the Christian religion, which many, who appeared to be engaged in the insurrection, had professed. They also expressed their full conviction as to all the other missionaries, that they were alike

innocent in the matter. The memorialists invited a fair investigation of their conduct and principles, and declared that, sustained by conscious innocence, they would have endured with composure all personal privations and insults, but they felt themselves compelled to appeal, when several chapels were destroyed, under the countenance and with the aid of magistrates and officers in the militia, and when there was every reason to expect that others would share the same fate, unless prevented by the interposition of the governor. They, therefore, entreated that his excellency would take measures for the preservation of the remaining chapels and other property, which belonged not to individuals, but to a society in England, which could not by any possibility be charged with having excited the slaves to rebellion.

The governor, it appears, had anticipated this request, by issuing a proclamation, in consequence of the destruction of the chapels at Falmouth, Montego Bay, Lucea, and Savannah-la-Mar, denouncing these acts of violence, and enjoining all custodes of parishes and magistrates to seek out and bring to punishment the authors of these outrages, and to employ the whole force entrusted to them in protecting property of every description, whether belonging to individuals or to religious societies; to quell all disorderly meetings, and to bring to exemplary punishment every disturber of the public peace.

How much regard was paid to the proclamation may be gathered from the circumstance, that the copies were torn down from the walls as soon as posted, as well as from the fact, that the very persons called upon to bring the offenders to justice,

were, in many instances, themselves the perpetrators of the violence. The most base and malignant efforts were still made to implicate the missionaries. The negroes were addressed by the magistrates, demanding of them, with threats and enticements, to say that they were instigated by their ministers. They were asked which they should like best to see, their ministers hang on yonder gallows, or to hang there themselves. One was asked, "Did not Mr. Burchell tell you to rebel?" "No, sir." "Tell me the truth, that Mr. B. *did* tell you so, or (holding a pistol to his head) I'll blow your brains out."

To another, when cruelly lashed, in order to extort evidence, the supervisor cried out, "What, no blood yet? Tell me, you rascal, did not Mr. Burchell tell you to rebel?" "No, massa, I don't know Mr. Burchell, I never saw Mr. Burchell;" still the poor creature was pressed, and flogged all the time,—"Tell me, did not that bloody villain, Burchell, tell you to do it?"

In another instance, "If you don't tell me something about the baptist parsons, you shall be hung up *there*." This was the threat of a militia officer, holding his sword over a negro's head, and pointing to the gallows.

Among other instances of cruelty practised on the slaves, in order to extort information, they took one of the faithful servants of Mr. Burchell, and shut him up in a close room, with a pan of burning brimstone, telling him that he should have a taste of hell before he got there.

After the committal of Mr. Burchell, one gentleman observed to another, that he *feared* the evidence would not be sufficient to condemn

Mr. Burchell, and if they were to *acquit* him it would be the worst thing they could do for the colony. It was added, that as such was the case, they would move earth and hell to procure more evidence against him; and, in case these endeavours should fail, it was known that many had sworn to murder the missionaries, whom they could not condemn. The replies of the rebel negroes, when examined, generally were, "I never heard the minister say any thing about freedom." "My ministers never told me to rebel, but, on the contrary, to do good." "No minister told me to do so; minister told me to do good, and no harm; and, if I had taken his advice, I should not have complained even when sick." "He repeatedly commanded and enjoined the slaves to be obedient to their owners, and attentive to their business; it was their duty, as Christians, to do so:" and if any one wavered in his testimony, through intimidation, the cause was too evident for a moment to affect the character of the missionary, except in the most prejudiced and malignant mind. Imagine a poor fellow, having repeatedly declared that his minister never had said anything to him about freedom or rebellion, still urged and threatened, with a loaded pistol at his head, and if he did tremblingly say, "Yes, massa, me forgot, me think minister did say something about it," what weight would be attached to a statement so vague, and extorted in such a manner? But not only was the innocence of the missionaries cleared by the slaves, it was also freely attested by gentlemen of the first respectability, who had, in some cases, constantly attended their ministrations, or had committed the negroes on their estates to their religious instruction,

and who declared that no people could conduct themselves with greater propriety and fidelity. Among those who did this honour to themselves, as well as to the missionaries, may be named S. M. Barrett, a large landed proprietor, and brother to E. Barrett, Esq., on whose estate Mr. Knibb had many members; Mr. Lewin, Miss M. B. S., Mr. T. J. Thelwill. The latter gentleman declared, that the only slave belonging to him, who had joined the rebels, was not connected with any baptist church, and that the whole of his slaves (thirty-two) who were so connected, had been faithful and obedient to him, and used their utmost exertions for the protection of his property. This gentleman also stated, that George Brisset, a member of the baptist church at Lucea, had been *armed* by the regiment, and that he and his fellow-negroes had nobly defended their master's property. On that estate there were more than one hundred persons connected with the same church, every one of whom remained faithful and obedient.

But the crowning testimony was that of the unhappy man, Samuel Stennett, on whose assertion Messrs. Gardner and Burchell had been committed to jail. Impelled by the horrors of a guilty conscience, he made explicit recantation in the following form:—

JAMAICA.—Personally appeared before me, Samuel Stennett, of the parish of St. James, county of Cornwall, and island aforesaid, being duly sworn, maketh oath and saith, that the affidavit made by him against the baptist missionaries, T. Burchell and F. Gardner, which led to their confinement in gaol, was false and unjust; that he

never heard from them such facts as he the deponent hath sworn against them; that he was instigated to do so by four *gentlemen* of note, (one a *magistrate*,*) the former of whom assured him that he would be well looked upon by the gentlemen of this place, that the country would give him ten pounds per annum, and that he, G. D., would make it up fifty pounds. The deponent further saith, that he is induced to make this declaration to relieve his conscience, as he knew nothing against the said missionaries, and that he never joined the baptist society until after Mr. Burchell had left the country,—So help me God.

This declaration was made before two gentlemen of undoubted honour, Messrs. Manderson and Reaburn; and Stennett was willing and desirous of attesting it upon oath. The magistrates endeavoured to deter him from doing so, by threatening him with the pillory, but he cared not what he suffered to disburden his guilty conscience; and turning to one of the gentlemen who had bribed him, he abruptly said, "You *know* you did tell me so." He was not, however, allowed to swear to the declaration, but the two gentlemen, to whom he had made it, swore to his having done so; and, in fact, he had openly and publicly, in the presence of the court, declared the same thing. Mr. Manderson then applied to the magistrates for the liberation, on bail, of Messrs. Burchell and Gardner, which, however, was not acceded to. The per-

* The same who issued the warrant for Mr. Burchell's apprehension, who committed him to prison, one of those actively engaged in the white rebellion, and who threatened the destruction of any house that should afford shelter to the missionaries.

secuted men then presented a memorial to the governor, which produced an order from him to the magistrates, directing their release, which, however, was not complied with, for no proof of innocence could disarm the hostility of their enemies. The following will serve to display the spirit existing. A requisition was addressed to the senior magistrate, at Montego Bay, with which, it appears, he readily complied, to convene a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the parish, for the purpose of expressing their determination to prevent the re-introduction of the baptist* sect into this parish, and to recommend the representatives to use their exertions, in the house of assembly, to expel the missionaries.

At the meeting thus convened, several resolutions expressive of abhorrence of religion and its propagators were proposed and carried, and many speeches of a most violent and inflammatory nature were uttered and applauded. One gentleman *regretted* that he was not present at the destruction of one of the chapels, as he would have joined heart and hand in prosecuting the work. Another declared that they must get rid of the baptists; they must petition the house of assembly, and if that did not do, they must use other measures for expelling them; that the voice of the people was above all law, and they must make laws of their own. There would be no rest till the baptists were sent off the island; that neither ought the Wesleyans to be allowed to remain; that Mr. Murray,

* They seem to have thought, that because the chapels of the baptists were destroyed, their principles must be exterminated, and that it was only to guard against their re-introduction. Such mistakes are not new; see Acts iv. v.

the Wesleyan minister, should be informed that it would be at the risk of his life if he attempted to preach, that he would be murdered, &c. A proposal was made, that the methodists, as well as the baptists, should be expelled from the island, but it was replied, that if this was desired, another meeting must be called for the purpose, this having been, by the requisition, confined to the baptists. Resolutions to the same purport, of getting rid of all the sectaries, were passed in many parts of the island, by persons dignifying their associations with the name of church unions, professedly for the support of the established church, but, in reality, for the suppression of religion altogether; for whether taught by episcopalians, baptists, or Wesleyans, they could not endure the dissemination of those principles by which the minds of the slaves would be enlightened, and a higher standard of morals established than slave-holders chose to conform to.

On the 14th of Feb. Mr. Knibb was released, and most affectionately and joyfully received by his flock at Falmouth, they having heard a rumour that he had been shot. Many tears were shed over the ruins of their chapel. The negroes thought it hard, they having been faithful, quiet, and obedient, that they should suffer for the rebellion of others, and be deprived of a chapel, which they had reared themselves. They eagerly enquired of their ministers, whether the king would let them have religion again. Mr. K. directed them to be quiet and obedient, and encouraged them with the assurance, not only that they would be permitted again to possess a house of worship, but that the good people of England would assist them in building it.

Within a day or two of his release, Mr. Knibb received information of a design formed against his life. This information he received from two gentlemen, one of whom had been invited to join the conspiracy, and had refused. In the evening, the house was beset by a party of men, dressed in women's clothes, who came with a design to tar and feather him.* They threw stones at the windows, but were prevented carrying into effect their more formidable intention, a numerous guard of faithful blacks being stationed, in consequence of the information received, to protect their beloved minister.

In the beginning of April, a similar attack was made upon Mr. Bleby, a Wesleyan missionary, and his family. Being unexpected, it was likely to be attended with more serious consequences; but "the Lord knoweth how to deliver them that are his;" and whether by making them aware of their danger, and directing them to the use of preventive means; or whether by some seasonable interposition, in the moment of unexpected danger, their preservation is alike to be ascribed to Him. Mr. and Mrs. Bleby were sitting at tea, little suspecting danger, when a band of white, and one or two coloured, ruffians, armed with bludgeons, rushed into the house, and, with violent and abusive language, seized Mr. B.,

* Lest the reader should not understand the nature of this operation, it is thus described :—A set of ruffians bring a keg of tar, and while some hold down the object of their vengeance, others besmear his person and clothes with the tar; others strew feathers over him, which adhere to the tar, and then set fire thereto, by which his life must be endangered; and, at least, the smell must be most horrible.

besmeared him over with tar, and attempted to set fire to his pantaloons, and afterwards to his breast, which Mrs. B. perceiving, dashed the candle from the hand of him who held it. In attempting to interpose, she was seized by one of the villains, and dashed violently on the floor, the effects of which she long felt. Two of the gang attempted to murder Mrs. B. in the pantry, but she eluded their intention. By this time an alarm was given, and persons came to the assistance of the family. Mrs. Bleby escaped with her infant child, about five months old, though not till both had been bedaubed with tar; and Mr. B., guarded by a party of black and coloured young men, took refuge in a neighbouring house. Mr. B. then claimed protection at the hands of the authorities, and was sheltered in the barracks for the night, Mrs. B. and her child being kindly received by Mrs. Jackson, the lady of the clerk of the peace. Such, however, was the bitter feeling still existing, that the young men who had rescued Mr. Bleby were *disarmed* by authority, and tried by a court-martial, for the *crime* of protecting a missionary, his wife, and helpless infant. The same evening, the solitary habitation of Mr. Baylis, a baptist missionary, was assailed by a band of white men, chiefly overseers and book-keepers, armed with pistols, muskets, &c. Having entered the gate, they met the watchman, a poor old faithful negro, who was about to give an alarm. Though he had no means of defence, they fell upon him, and cut him very severely with their swords on his head and body, and stabbed him with a bayonet in his side. They then proceeded to break open the door, and to fire into the house, forcing the shutters into the bed-room

windows with such violence, that the bed on which Mrs. Baylis and her infant lay was literally strewed with glass. They then discharged their pieces into the bed-room. One ruffian put his arm through the window, took a lighted candle, and attempted to set fire to the furniture, but was mercifully prevented. Having demolished all the windows, and broken open the stores, they swore that the house should be destroyed that night, but an alarm was now sounded in the neighbourhood, and though but thinly populated, more than eight hundred persons ran together to the protection of the missionaries, and the marauders were obliged to make a precipitate retreat.

What new machinations had been employed does not appear; but notwithstanding the governor's order for the release of Messrs. Burchell and Gardner, and that Mr. Knibb was at full liberty, as the assizes approached it proved that bills of indictment were preferred against all the three. Samuel Stennett appeared before the grand jury, and made oath as above; consequently Mr. Burchell was released, and Stennett was indicted for perjury by that very magistracy, two of whom had bribed him to commit it.

On the evening of Mr. Burchell's release, a white mob collected round his lodgings, vowing they would tar and feather him. They were prevented by the noble exertions of the coloured people, and by the interference of the chief justice, who happened to be on the spot. That gentleman persuaded Mr. B. to leave the island, to which, under existing circumstances, he consented. The chief justice obtained a detachment to guard Mr. B. through the streets, and personally accompanied

him to the vessel in which he embarked for America, and thence proceeded to England.

The following week Messrs. Gardner and Knibb were to be brought to trial; but the attorney-general, having examined three witnesses for the prosecution, found the case so utterly unsustained, that he threw up his brief,—and what is the next thing we hear? That this very same William Knibb, who had been treated as an incendiary, and promoter of rebellion, was employed to examine certain of the negroes, and to find out, if possible, the causes of the rebellion! This request was communicated by Major-General Miller, who stated, that the governor had desired him to gain this information; and that he was so perfectly conscious of Mr. Knibb's innocence, that he had conferred with the chief justice, and another magistrate, who all agreed that they could not do better than engage Mr. Knibb to investigate the matter, giving him also the assurance of the governor, that if any slave should divulge such particulars as should lead to a full disclosure of the rebellion, every effort should be made to save his life.

Mr. Knibb consented to this proposal, but requested that another minister might be present, and preferred that it should be one of another denomination. Accordingly, Mr. Murray, a Wesleyan minister, was with him at several of the examinations, and Major Miller himself at others. Some of the parties examined had already been tried, others had not. From the particulars elicited, it was concluded, that the meetings of delegates (already referred to, p. 371) first provoked the negroes to think of rebellion. The intem-

perate speeches at those meetings, led them to think that the king, and parliament, and people of England, were their friends; and just in that degree that they were regarded by their masters as enemies, whose movements they were resolved at all hazards to resist. These impressions were strengthened by the rash violence of some of the masters or overseers, one of whom equally distinguished himself as the opposer of missionaries, and the oppressor of slaves. He had repeatedly said in presence of the negroes, that the king was going to make them free, but he hoped all his friends would be of his mind, and spill their blood first; besides this, when the women with young children went to him as usual for the Christmas allowance, he said to them, that they must look to their friends in England now, for he had no more to give them. For three or four months previous to the rebellion, the slaves had received an unusual portion of flogging: the overseers, when flogging them, would say, "You will be free after Christmas, but we will get it out of you first." On this they argued, "If we be not free, what can make him say so?" and the more adventurous proceeded further to reason, "If it be ours, and is withheld from us, we have a right to fight for it; and if the soldiers know that it is the king's intention we should have it, they will fight for us, or at least will not fight against us." The more conscientious negroes justly argued, "If freedom is come, we shall get it quietly; but if we do wrong, and commit violence, we shall bring a disgrace upon religion, and freedom will not come to us with a blessing." It is true, that in some few instances, these better principles were overborne by

the force of persuasion and example, and by the ardent desire after freedom which had been roused, but such was the tendency and general prevalence of christian instruction; and it is evident that, not from missionaries or emancipationists did the negroes get the notion of freedom; nor were they excited by them to unlawful attempts to obtain it; but by the infatuated rashness and oppression of those who wished to oppose every advance to negro knowledge, freedom, and happiness; in a word, the whole may be traced to the system of slavery itself.

After all that had been said about christian missionaries exciting, and christian professors concerting and carrying on the rebellion, it appeared, on the strictest enquiry, that a very small proportion of those engaged in it were persons of any religion whatever. One man, who appeared to have planned the whole, was a member of a baptist church,* and several others were more or less engaged in it. Some, too, were concerned in it, who practised adult baptism, but were in no way connected with the English missionaries, or Missionary Society; but wholly objectionable to them, both in religious doctrine and moral practice,—one of their preachers was shot as a rebel. There were several very large baptist churches, of which not a single member was ever implicated,—not one of Mr. Abbott's congregation at Lucea ever

* This man, Samuel Sharpe, was executed at Montego Bay, May 30. His execution probably was deferred so long, in the hope of eliciting information from him. He attested, with his last breath, the innocence of the missionaries; and declared, that had he followed their advice, he never should have come to that awful end.

refused to work for their masters. Of the first fifty that were executed, six were baptists. The whole number of lives lost amounted to some hundreds, of whom but few were baptists; but not a single deacon, and only two leaders, were found among them, and even of these a very small proportion were brought to trial; many were shot at random, and several died of flogging, and other cruelties inflicted on them to extort evidence against the missionaries. It is believed, that no members of the Wesleyan Society were concerned. This may be partly accounted for, from the fact, that, in one parish, the seat of the rebellion, there were one thousand one hundred Wesleyans, and more than five thousand baptists; of course, the chance was nearly five to one, that some inconsistent or runaway professors of the former persuasion might be led away.* However, it is a well-known fact,

* This was generously admitted by the late excellent Rev. R. Watson, in his admirable speech at the annual Wesleyan missionary meeting, 1832.

After detailing many oppressions, privations, and mortifications, to which the slaves were exposed, and the hopes and expectations which were excited and deferred, he proceeded, "Thus we may find plenty of causes for these unhappy events, without affixing this atrocious guilt on a christian missionary. That our missionaries stand clear is evidently admitted; yet this is simply owing, partly to the fact, that there were very few in the disturbed districts, partly that they obtained, just before the insurrection broke out, an intimation of the storm. This enabled them to visit their people, and inculcate those lessons of prudence which secured them against the evil day. The baptist brethren were without any such warning, and were unable, therefore, to adopt these wise precautions. But even independently of this, no man of common sense would be so absurd, as to charge these fearful proceedings on a

that religious slaves, of whatever denomination, were found the most faithful defenders of their masters' property. It were easy to multiply instances; the following may serve as a specimen:—At Green Park, Trelawney, Mr. Knibb had thirty or forty members; and, on the whole, eighty, or one hundred, connected with his congregation. They mounted guard every night; when the rebels fired the task house, they put it out, and took some of the rebels, for which they received a reward of the magistrates. They asked Mr. Knibb if they had done right; he said they had, and urged them to defend the property to the last. They did so, and were rewarded for their good conduct,—several of them received their freedom.

On another estate, a negro, named Charles Campbell, took the whole charge of the property, and defended it, during the absence of the overseer. The overseer said to him, "Charles, I know your minister has told you to burn the property." The faithful slave requested a bible, that he might take an oath of what the minister had told him the day before. The overseer replied, "No, he should not trouble himself about it, he knew that Knibb had told him to burn the pro-

missionary. They had every conceivable motive to deter them from such combined wickedness and folly, and not one of an opposite character. Most cordially," continued the eloquent speaker, "most deeply do I sympathize with our brethren, who have sustained such loss and such injury at the hand of wanton outrage; and if there be no other way of repairing this loss, I should be glad that those sanctuaries of mercy, which have been laid waste, should be re-erected by our common efforts. Should such a step be resorted to, I hope and believe that we shall not be found wanting."

perty, and he expected it to be done." Nevertheless, after throwing out these insulting insinuations, the overseer left him for a month in charge of the property. He turned the people out regularly to work; not a single baptist refused to labour; and some negroes, who were disorderly, they took up and confined. At the close of the rebellion, the master of Campbell gave him his freedom, saying, "You baptists are the most curious people in the world, some of you behave so well, and others so ill." Barnett, a deacon of Mr. Knibb's church, defended and saved his master's property. He received his freedom, as did also Freeze Escrow, at the close of the rebellion, during which his wife had been shot in her hut. He had been required to turn executioner, which he refused to do.

Those who were condemned by court-martial were executed so very speedily, that there was little opportunity of collecting their sentiments and feelings in prospect of death. Seldom an hour elapsed, and sometimes not half an hour, between the sentence and execution. The misguided victims manifested much composure; and, in general, seemed to think that they had struggled and fallen in a good cause; but a few acknowledged that they had done wrong, and told others to take warning. When one group of rebels were about to be executed, a methodist leader, who was present, was desired by the officers to pray with the convicts: he did so, and was then immediately commanded to shoot them!—an instance of cold-blooded cruelty, of which we could hardly have supposed British officers capable. In other instances ministers, even of the established church, were denied access to the criminals.

Almost immediately on Mr. Knibb's release, he was urgently requested by two magistrates (Mr. Miller and Mr. Gordon) to leave the island, as they apprehended violence to his person, from which they feared they should not be able to protect him. It is probable, however, that their persuasions would not have succeeded, with a missionary who was not moved by any of these things, and who counted not his life dear unto himself, had it not appeared to his brethren, and to himself, that he could more effectually serve the cause to which he was devoted by visiting England. The following unanimous resolution was passed by the missionaries at Kingston, April 11, in consequence of which Mr. Knibb embarked for England:—"Considering the present distressed state of our mission, the impossibility of occupying several of our stations, the consequent redundancy of missionaries, the manifest improbability of obtaining redress here, we deem it expedient, for the representation of our wrongs, and the advancement of the society's funds, that one of our brethren be appointed as a deputation to proceed forthwith to England, to act under the direction of the committee; and that brother Knibb, on account of his intimate acquaintance with the mission to the disturbed part of the island, and his knowledge of circumstances immediately connected with the rebellion, be appointed for that purpose."

The departure of Mr. Knibb, though he seemed the chosen mark for the hatred and vengeance of the colonists, did not extinguish the spirit of persecution. In fact, they were more than ever exasperated at the repeated failure of their attempts to affix a stigma on the missionary cause. New

resolutions were entered into by the "Colonial Unions," denouncing the sectarians, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, as the cause of the disturbances, and binding themselves not to suffer any such to preach, or teach, in any house or district from which their influence could keep or drive them out, or to give employment to any of their followers.

In June, some attempts were made to re-establish religious meetings at Savannah la Mar, Montego Bay, and Kingston. Every precaution was taken as to applying for a regular licence for the houses, but the spirit of opposition violently manifested itself. At Montego Bay, Mr. Abbott's first service was interrupted by a constable sent from the magistrates, to declare that the meeting was illegal, and threatening to arrest him if he did not desist and disperse the meeting. For the sake of peace he complied, but maintained that the meeting was not illegal, and next day met the magistrates on the subject. Legal or illegal, they were determined to oppose it, and threatened him if he held any future services; they even went so far as to propose that he should be driven out of the parish as a vagrant; this, however, they found they could not effect. His life was endangered by the furious white mob, no doubt set on by the magistrates; but a medical gentleman, a stranger, being aware of their designs, gave information to Mr. A., and generously offered him and his wife an asylum in his house. The town was placarded with hand-bills in the following words:—"To Mr. Abbott, baptist missionary,—Quit this parish by any possible means on Monday, as the parishioners have resolved that you then must do.

Should you fool-hardily disregard this notice, beware of the consequences. Montego Bay, St. James's, 22d June, 1832."

The mistress of the house in which the prayer-meeting was held was ordered to take her trial at the next quarter sessions for suffering the meeting, and Mr. Abbott for officiating at it.

At Savannah, Mr. Kingdon was brutally interrupted, with threats of destruction of the house in which the worship was held. The threatened assault was not then made; but the *poor aged woman* to whom the house belonged, was fined twenty-five pounds for the offence, and five pounds to the deputy-marshal; for which amount, had not friends been found to release her, she must have gone to gaol. Mr. Kingdon afterwards received an intimation from the magistrates, that on account of the strong feeling against baptists, they desired him to depart. He replied, that no charge whatever had been proved against baptist missionaries; and that, as a British subject, he had a right to live, and to be protected by the magistrates in any part of the British dominions. However, shortly afterwards, the house in which they resided was assaulted by a party of fifty or sixty men, armed and disguised. Protection was claimed from the magistrates; but one was out, and another excused himself from coming. A sharp firing was kept up into the windows of the house, but providentially the inmates escaped injury; and some boiling water, thrown from one of the top windows, put out an ignited rocket which had been placed beneath to blow up the house. The ruffians were evidently determined to murder Mr. K. The magistrate who had been absent, now arrived, and

endeavoured to quiet the mob, and to protect the objects of their vengeance. They promised to desist their attacks on the house, if Mr. K., and two gentlemen, Messrs. Deleon, to whom it belonged, and who had kindly harboured and protected Mr. and Mrs. K., quitted it. They did so, and immediately the treacherous mob fired upon them, but they were mercifully preserved. The inmates of the dwelling fled for their lives, and were preserved in concealment in some of the negro huts; but the rioters declared they would pull down every house on the Bay, but they would have Mr. Kingdon and the Messrs. Deleon. The custos and the magistrate used their best endeavours to protect Mr. K., and brought him to the Court house, where he stated his case, his peaceable and pious intentions in coming to the place, the insults and injuries he had received, and the dangers which he justly apprehended. The custos asked him if he would leave the Bay, as a riot would certainly take place if he did not; this he consented to do. But the people, and some of the magistrates, would not be satisfied without a farther promise that he would not return, nor would they even consent to his remaining a single night.

The custos, however, kindly offered shelter to Mrs. K. at his house, which was five miles distant, and requested his brother to convey him there.

They had not long been in repose in this hospitable asylum, when a constable came with a warrant from one of the persecuting magistrates, for Mr. Kingdon's apprehension, the mob at the same time declaring, that if he were not given up

they would come and pull down the house of the custos. Those who had already so generously protected the innocent, would not give them up to the hands of their enemies, but personally conducted Mr. K. to the Court house, whence he was sent to prison, where he found his generous friends, the Messrs. Deleon, and several others, on a charge of having fired on the party assembled to attack the house. The work of destruction had been carried on; the house in which they had lodged had been totally destroyed, and that of Mr. John Deleon nearly so, as also several others belonging to free negroes, who had either sheltered the persecuted, or come to their assistance, and all this in spite of the utmost efforts of the custos and others. The situation of Mr. K. and his friends was most perilous, as the head gaolers were their mortal enemies, and had assisted in the destruction of the chapels and houses, and they really apprehended being murdered in the prison. After remaining a month, they were liberated on bail to a large amount, and subsequently tried for the alleged offence. Their sufferings of various kinds were equally great and unmerited; and it was peculiarly felt, that the generous and disinterested kindness of the Messrs. Deleon, members, not of the Baptist Society, but of the established church, should have involved them in circumstances so painful. All, however, were mercifully preserved by Him who defends the righteous cause; and, it may be hoped, that those who have hazarded and suffered the loss of property, liberty, and honour, for the cause of Christ, may receive a hundred fold more in this present time, and in the world to come, life everlasting. In other places, the mis-

sionaries were silenced and imprisoned, and the poor negroes were deprived of their beloved opportunities of religious worship.

For a twelvemonth, at least, this spirit of opposition and persecution went on; Mr. Dendy, Mr. Abbott, and Mr. Nicholls, baptist ministers, and a Mr. Lewin, who befriended them, were imprisoned for preaching, and heavy fines enacted on the persons in whose houses the meetings had been held. Similar persecutions were endured by the Wesleyans, two of their ministers, Messrs. Murray and Rowden, having been imprisoned.

But it is not intended to carry a narrative of the persecutions of missionaries farther than as it has a special bearing on the object of this work. What effects, then, resulted from these disturbances in Jamaica with respect to slavery and its abolition?

First.— The sufferings of the missionaries in the cause of the gospel, instead of weaning their people from them, or from the doctrines they preached, had a direct tendency the more strongly to attach them to men whom they considered to have suffered unjustly, and to endear to them those principles which could sustain under trials so severe.

Second.—These circumstances, by bringing into direct and palpable operation the tyrannical and malignant dispositions fostered by slavery, displayed the real nature and tendency of that system, to the full conviction of many who had been disposed to think favourably of it; or, at least, to make apologies for it.

Third.—A spirit of prayer, sympathy, and exertion, was excited on behalf of the injured missionaries and oppressed slaves. Immediately on

receipt of the tidings, special meetings were held for prayer on their behalf throughout our land, and attended by all denominations of christians. They were every where numerously attended, and most fervent supplications were poured forth. If we admit the testimony of Scripture, that the effectual fervent prayer of *a righteous man* availeth much, we cannot doubt, that the united fervent prayers of so many thousands, availed much towards advancing that happy issue of things which we now celebrate.

But a spirit of liberality was excited, as well as a spirit of prayer. It was obvious that great expences must have been incurred, and still greater must be anticipated, before the missionaries could be restored to their negro flocks, and be again surrounded by them in houses of worship. That the British public would be ready to meet these demands, an ample pledge was given in the *first* and *voluntary* contribution to this cause,—TEN SOVEREIGNS, spontaneously forwarded by a SERVANT MAN; a pledge which, in due time, the British public failed not honourably to redeem.

Another species of exertion to which the conductors of missionary societies, especially, were called by these events, and which doubtless contributed in no small degree to expedite the abolition of slavery, was that of laying before his majesty's government the condition of their innocent and persecuted missionaries, and seeking for them that redress which was not to be expected from local authorities. Communications of facts were made, and satisfactory attestations of innocence presented to the enlightened government of our country. Combined deputations from the com-

mittees of the Wesleyan and Baptist Missionary Societies had an interview with Lord Goderich, the colonial Secretary of State, who paid the most ready and gratifying attention to their representations, and assured them that government would use every means to discover and punish the parties who had set at defiance all law and justice. Instructions were also forwarded to Lord Mulgrave, the newly-appointed Governor of Jamaica, and by him recommended to the House of Assembly, to provide means for rebuilding the thirteen baptist, and four Wesleyan chapels, so wantonly and illegally destroyed. It is true, that these recommendations were disregarded, or rather insolently rejected, and the damages were to be repaired from other quarters; but this very contempt and resistance served the cause it was intended to oppose; first, by more clearly displaying to government the temper of the parties, and the character of the system they had to deal with; and next, by bringing to light a deficiency in the laws of Jamaica, which, when perceived, was at once rectified by a provision for the future, similar to that enacted at home; that, if any building consecrated to religious worship is demolished or injured by a riotous mob, the damage must be repaired at the charge of the county or district where the riot takes place. Such a law is likely to prove an effectual cure for chapel destruction in Jamaica.

Another advantage resulting from the late disturbances was this,—by bringing slave proprietors into greater acquaintance with the character and practice of missionaries, and with the influence of religious instruction, and religious principle, on

the feelings and conduct of the slaves, it led, in many instances, to a conviction, that religion was the best preparative for safe and beneficial emancipation. Hence, some who had been accustomed to regard emancipation with dread, were convinced that, if accompanied by religious instruction, it might be safely accomplished, and thus were prepared to fall in with a public measure of that kind instead of opposing it; and some, who had all along desired to confer freedom, but doubted its practicability, even went so far as to form conditional plans for the emancipation of their own slaves, without waiting for a general movement. But the most palpable advantage was that of sending home the missionaries to proclaim and attest facts, which before they had suppressed. Christian missionaries were sent out, not to effect emancipation, but to preach the gospel; as long, therefore, as they were permitted to prosecute their great work, they remained silent spectators of a system of oppression most abhorrent to their own feelings; but when their places of worship were demolished, their flocks dispersed, and they forbidden upon peril of their lives any longer to proclaim the gospel of salvation, not only did private communications and official documents convey to England an exposure of the true state of the case, but the missionaries themselves came home, or at least sent home deputations, with their lips unsealed, to proclaim, through the free land of Britain, in all its length and its breadth, the horrors endured in the land of slavery, alas! by the infliction of Britain's sons. The influence of their unfettered statements was manifest at all the public meetings of societies which had any bearing on

the cause of religion, education, or humanity, and quickly diffused itself throughout the whole community.

Shortly after intelligence was received of the insurrection in Jamaica, a debate was held in the house of commons on the Sugar Duties. In the course of the discussion many remarks were naturally called forth as to the circumstances and causes of the late rebellion. The West India partizans stoutly maintained that it was to be traced to the interference of government in its efforts to afford protection to the slave, and security to the christian missionary. The abolitionists as steadily, and with far more reason, traced the evil to the determined and infatuated resistance of the planters to every proposed measure of amelioration.

About the same time, at the importunate entreaties of the West India proprietors in England, a committee of enquiry was appointed in the house of lords; the chief object of which, apparently, was to show, that the late orders in council for the relief of slaves were injurious in their tendency, and that their operation ought, at least, to be postponed, and the claim for abolition virtually abolished. Truth has nothing to fear from enquiry. Falsehood and oppression may justly shrink from investigation, but truth and justice can pass the fiery ordeal uninjured. This measure, notwithstanding its formidable aspect, issued in advancing the cause it was designed to oppose.

The public meeting of the Wesleyan missionary society, was the first religious anniversary at which the subject was brought forward. In a most ani-

mated speech, by the Rev. Richard Watson, (from which a quotation has already been made, p. 413) we find the following sentiments:—"We have often found it prudent to impose restraints on our missionaries, to inculcate the most cautious reserve, to abstain from entering on irritating topics. That cautious tone was necessary, lest injudicious language should interfere with the great and all-important objects which the missionary has in view, and which, however he may long to see the chain of the slave struck off, he considers of still greater moment than his freedom. But if we have taught our missionaries to suppress the feelings of humanity, to stifle the swelling indignation which the spectacle of slavery cannot but inspire; if we have taught them to turn away and weep in silence over the miseries and degradation of their fellow-men, when, had they allowed themselves to give utterance to their feelings, they would have spoken in a voice of thunder; if, I say, we have been obliged to impose silence on their tongues, we must let ours loose. We are not to forget that we have to do, not with slave-holders, but with the British people, parliament, government; and before them we have no motive to bind us to secrecy, or impose on us silence. To these we will speak our mind. Nor could our silence, were we disposed to maintain it, secure a single benefit to any party; no, not even to the colonists themselves. The barrier, the mound, by which the colonists would shut out every thing like knowledge or liberty, might be for a moment strengthened; but the waters would be rising behind it, till at length, without premonition, and with the risk of an irresistible stream, they would burst the frail embank-

ment, and sweep, in awful desolation, over the colonies."

May 10, the London Missionary Society held its anniversary. Here, too, an expression of fraternal sympathy was called forth on behalf of the persecuted missionaries, and their oppressed flocks. The Rev. J. Leifchild was appointed to move a vote of sympathy to the baptist and Wesleyan societies, on account of the fierce and fatal persecutions they had lately endured in the West-Indies. "Shall we not tell the baptist denomination, that much-maligned and persecuted, but honoured, denomination; a denomination whose success has been so extraordinary in the east and in the west; shall we not tell that denomination that we sympathize with them now, and with their beloved missionaries, some of whom, besides enduring the horrors of colonial imprisonment, have lost, for a while, what is dearer to every honourable mind than life itself,—their good name? They have been covered with a cloud of obloquy and reproach, but, in their patience, they have possessed their souls, and committed their cause to Him who judgeth righteously. Shall we not tell the Wesleyan denomination, amongst whom some of us (and we are not ashamed to allow it) drew our first religious breath, and at whose flaming torch of zeal we have often lighted our tapers; shall we not tell them the sympathy we feel for them, and pledge to them our affection?"

Thus a spirit of mutual sympathy, zeal, and co-operation was diffused through the various sections of the religious world, which tended much to prepare them for the one grand combined effort, that was at length to be crowned with success.

The general meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society was held May 12th; the old and tried friend of emancipation, Jas. Stephen, Esq., being called by acclamation to the chair. Lord Suffield was the first speaker. He brought forward a number of most interesting facts, sustained by regular documents, and illustrating the evils of slavery. His lordship stated that he had a memorandum of ten points, on which he would have liked to dwell, which, indeed, comprehended the essence of the subject.

1. The general neglect of the moral, intellectual, and religious instruction of the slaves.

2. The profanation of the sabbath, as a day of rest, ordained by a beneficent Providence for relaxation from labour, as well as for spiritual improvement.

3. The licentious and indecent treatment of females.

4. The excess and barbarity of punishment to which the slaves are subjected.

5. The discouragement of marriage.

6. The shameful neglect or perversion of the laws intended to restrain cruelties.

7. The separation of families or near kindred, by sale, bequest, &c.

8. The incompetency of slave evidence, which rendered it almost impossible to secure the conviction of the perpetrators of acts of cruelty.

9. The extreme difficulty thrown in the way of a slave recovering his freedom by purchase.

10. The uncertainty in which he held his liberty, even if it was procured.

These interesting and important topics his lordship, however, left to be handled by other speakers,

and confined his observations to two others, viz.: the excess of slave labour, and the insufficiency of slave maintenance, which resulted in a frightful waste of human life. Having abundantly and incontrovertibly established this position, his lordship closed by the following emphatic quotation:—"Such are the evils of slavery, that they admit but of one means of mitigation,—to limit the time of their duration; and such the effects of slavery, that they admit but of one cure,—total abolition." The resolution proposed by Lord Suffield was, "That the almost universal voice of the British nation, raised in upwards of six thousand petitions to parliament, had pronounced the slavery in which eight hundred thousand fellow-subjects were held, to be wholly repugnant to the spirit of christianity, to the claims of humanity and justice, and to the principles of the British constitution; and that nine long years had elapsed since parliament, concurring in this sentiment, unanimously resolved to put an early period to the guilt and crime of slavery, by restoring its victims to their just rights as British subjects; but that hitherto little had been done to effect that object."

Mr. Buxton, in seconding this resolution, alluded to the appointment of a committee of enquiry in the house of lords, a measure which he considered most useless and unseasonable. Was it necessary now to enquire whether or not slavery was an evil? whether it was decent to flog females? and humane to separate families? whether it accorded with the principles of religion, to turn the sabbath into a market-day? and whether it was consistent with the principles of nice morality, to despoil a man of his liberty, and burden his limbs

with grinding bonds? He considered the proposal, like all the former measures of the West-Indian body, a pretext for delay, and for nothing else.

Regarding the measure as the last* stroke to the negro's defeated and expiring hope, and with a sense of bitter disappointment, there was a matter of practical business which he wished to bring before the assembly. Were they, he demanded to know, all of one mind? Were they for emancipation? for total emancipation? for emancipation with as little delay as honest necessity would allow? These were his doctrines, and he wanted to ascertain whether they were theirs. He had not always expressed himself thus; but by what had passed, and what was passing, he was compelled to embrace the conclusion, that slavery could not be mitigated, but must be abolished; that this was a claim, not for any peculiar privilege, but for the restoration of those natural rights which God, in his mercy, had given, but which man, in his wickedness, had taken away. He observed, that for the last forty years, the lords, commons, and people of England, had been busy in mitigating slavery. He appealed to Mr. William Smith, who had made speeches in parliament on the subject before he (Mr. Buxton) was born; to the chairman, who had wielded the pen in the cause at the same time; to Mr. Macaulay, than whom no man living had rendered, or could render, greater service in the cause. He would appeal to

* The good gentleman was rather too gloomy in his views and calculations. It was only the darkness that precedes the break of day, or like the last infatuated resistance and oppression of Egypt, which issued in the release of Israel.

these veteran champions,—what were the complaints of Wilberforce, and Pitt, and Fox, at an earlier day? Did they not complain of the torturing cart-whip, of the breaking up of families, of the profanation of the sabbath, of the absence of religious instruction, and of the buying and selling our fellow-creatures? and the complaints of the present day were precisely the same; not one of the grievous catalogue had been obliterated. Nine years ago, the extinction of slavery was proposed, but it was to be done gradually. The first step was to abolish the flogging of females. The West-Indians in England agreed to this measure, as one that could not be objected against; the parliament approved, and the nation applauded, and took it for granted that flogging had been done away; but not more than six months ago, this very question of flogging females was brought before the Jamaica house of assembly, when there was but one vote for, and all the rest against, the discontinuance of the practice. Then, as to religious instruction: in 1797, the abolition of the slave trade was proposed. "No," it was said, "we can't afford that; it would be a piece of roguery; but we will do something better,—we will strike at the root of the system, and make all the negroes christians." Accordingly a resolution was adopted to afford the negroes the benefits of moral and religious instruction. This had just the effect it was intended to have, viz.: it lulled the people of England asleep for another ten years.

How really willing the colonists were for the religious instruction of the negroes, was evinced by the murder of the missionary Smith in Demerara; the burning of chapels in Barbadoes; the toleration

act of Jamaica, which, in the West-Indies, was applauded, as indicating an excess of liberality, but which the British government rejected, as "a violation of that toleration which is the right of every British subject." Then came the scourging of negroes to the very borders of the grave, for the sole crime of praying to God. To these enormities succeeded the recent persecution of the shepherds of the flock. The religious public of England had sent these men forward, and the religious public must fight their battles in this country; either withdraw the missionaries directly, or insist that justice shall be done them. There could be no tampering with the question any longer; and were he of their number, he would relinquish his post if the whole religious public of England did not express their sentiments, he would not say with violence, but with a strength of determination that should produce the effect of bringing them to justice. But where were the missionaries of Jamaica? In gaol! He hoped they were in gaol; for he dreaded lest they should have been already sacrificed to the fury of those in whose eyes the most capital crime was, the attempt to put an end to religious thraldom. Where were the slaves? Drenched in their own blood. Where were the chapels in which they had worshipped? Levelled to the earth, or consumed with fire; and where were the colonial magistrates? were they present at these scenes, and were they active? Yes, they were active in aiding the conflagration; and was there no semblance of aid in Jamaica for these injured persons? There was a "Church Union Society," organized for two distinct objects,—the demolition of chapels, and the banishment or

murder of missionaries. Mr. B. would not insult the meeting by quoting the language of the colonial newspapers, with reference to the missionaries. He would merely say, that there had not been in our day such persecution as these wise and good men, who pursued their sacred vocation in the West Indian colonies, had been constrained to endure. He reminded the meeting that it was one thing to fight with numbers, with the multiplied assurances of victory on their side; and another and a greater thing to stand alone, and stem the torrent of wickedness and cruelty, which, wherever it predominated, created misery and desolation. In the future selection of missionaries, Mr. B. recommended that the man of tender, timid spirit should be sent to the savage, the cannibal, the barbarian; but if there were a man of a stiffer, sterner nature, a man willing to encounter obloquy, torture, and death, he should be reserved for the tender mercies of christian brethren and fellow-countrymen, the planters of Jamaica! The result of these spirited remarks was, that the planters, while professing to resist emancipation until the slaves were prepared for freedom by the gentle influence of christianity, were fully and avowedly aware that to impart religious instruction to the negroes was wholly incompatible with slavery; and, therefore, notwithstanding all their professions, they were resolved to keep them heathens, in order that they might keep them slaves. They felt bound to take the utmost precautions against the inroads of divine truth, lest their imprudence might stir up an insurrection, and the bible should be found to turn traitor. Now, if slavery and christianity could not exist together, it was incumbent

on the people of England to stand forth and choose their side, in the contest between the word of God and the capricious cruelty of man. It was nonsense going on for ever holding public meetings. It was their duty to demand, with one united voice, whatever administration might happen to be in power, the total abolition of slavery, as the only way of accomplishing the moral, religious, and intellectual improvement of the negroes. When he thought of the murders, both in destruction of life, and prevention of population, the fifty thousand murders committed through the agency of slavery, murders, for which all the abettors of the system must give account at an awful tribunal; when he contemplated the career of affliction traced by their brother man; for, after all, he was their brother, moulded in the same form, heir to the same immortality, and though in chains and suffering, on a level, in the eyes of God, with the proudest noble in that committee which had been appointed to sit in judgment upon him; when he viewed him entering life by the desert tract of bondage, writhing under the lash of his tormentor, consigned to a premature grave, having died of slavery; and when he thought of the preparation which christians had enabled him to make for his hereafter, there could be but one feeling in his heart, but one expression on his lips, "Great God! how long, how long is this iniquity to continue?"

The next resolution, which was proposed and ably advocated by the Rev. J. Cunningham, was:—"That it is the duty of the government and parliament of this country to proceed, without any farther delay, to fulfil their pledge, and to adopt forthwith the necessary measures for the total

abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions; it being now unquestionable, that it is only by the interposition of parliament any hope can be entertained of peaceably terminating its unnumbered evils, or any security afforded against the recurrence of those bloody and calamitous scenes which have recently afflicted Jamaica."

After some humorous remarks on the inconsistency of the arguments by which the system of slavery was advocated; and the extreme nonsense, at this time of day, of appointing committees to inquire not only whether flogging was a blessing, but whether any man, woman, or child, had ever been flogged, Mr. Cunningham proceeded in a more serious, but animated strain, to advert to the notorious decision of the Trinidad planters, that slavery and christianity were incompatible; and that, therefore, christianity must be got rid of,—a decision which he regarded as paralleled only by that of the Jewish rabble, "Save Barabbas, and crucify Christ." He animadverted on the conduct of the Jamaica magistrates; and declared his conviction and desire that religion must, and should, have its free course in the West Indian islands; and that every minister of religion, churchman and dissenter, must have full and free liberty to publish the gospel of Christ to every sinful, miserable creature who was ignorant of it.

Mr. Buxton had called upon the ministers of religion to adopt effectual measures for establishing the rights of the gospel in the colonies. Mr. C. inquired,—what measures did he mean? They were here to-day prepared for the adoption of all measures which were pacific, constitutional, and scriptural; and he, for one, was ready to come

again to-morrow, and the next day, and the next, till the great object was accomplished; but they must be directed what to do, so as not to let the feeling roused in the meeting evaporate in mere words.

Dr. Lushington* seconded the resolution. After most affectingly detailing some recent instances of aggravated cruelty endured by slaves, which the provisions of government had not been found adequate to punish or redress, he made some pointed observations on the committee of inquiry in the house of lords, a committee almost entirely composed of interested persons, and most unfit to be judges in their own cause. As to the late rebellion in Jamaica, he would not say that it had been directly excited by white men, or caused by their rebellious example; it was enough to say, that rebellion was the natural and inevitable consequence of slavery; and he believed that, as long as the condition of the slave remained as it was, as long as the cartwhip was used as the stimulus to labour, as long as the parent might be separated from his wife and child at the caprice of the owner; so long, if man in those colonies was regulated by the common impulses of our nature, would the slave owner be without security against the recurrence of rebellion. Dr. L. observed, that the only crime of the slave had been his seeking to recover that freedom which was his inalienable right, and that punishment for such an effort incurred the guilt of taking away an innocent life. The utmost severity of the law had been exercised on hundreds of in-

* To this gentleman is commonly ascribed a most pungent and valuable pamphlet, published about this time, "A Letter to the Duke of Richmond," chairman of that committee, bearing the quaint signature of 'Legion.'

dividuals, whom no man of common sense or justice could pronounce guilty of a criminal act. The speaker, before he concluded, desired to impress on the meeting, and urged them to impress on their friends, the necessity, at every future election,* of urging on those who came forward as candidates, that they could hope for no favour or confidence from electors, unless they gave a most deliberate, a most explicit pledge, to support the total and immediate abolition of slavery. He reminded the audience of the determined resistance to be expected from the West Indian body, and that nothing but the most united and energetic efforts of the people of England would be sufficient to meet the opposition of that body. Earnestly did he implore the people to make those exertions; reminding them that, in so doing, they served the cause of Him who made them; that their great object was to rescue eight hundred thousand of their fellow subjects from slavery; and to change, as he might call it, the still worse condition of their unhappy owners.

Mr. W. Smith, a long-tried friend of the cause in parliament, gave a sketch of its progress, and moved the next resolution, which was an expression of "astonishment and alarm at the appointment of a committee of the house of lords, not for discussing the means of abolishing slavery, but for now commencing an inquiry into the nature and effects of slavery, although these have been conclusively established by the evidence of the last forty years."

Mr. O'Connell seconded this motion. He

* One was expected to take place very shortly afterwards.

urged the friends of abolition not to allow their humanity to evaporate in mere words, but to look through the country, to ascertain who were with them in the cause, and then let every man, who abhorred slavery, petition against it. He also suggested that the women of England should petition against slavery,—a measure which was pretty generally adopted. The speaker adverted to the effect of slavery as a bane to the introduction of christianity; and, on that ground, urged on christians the duty of its removal. He heartily joined in disapprobation and contempt of the "committee of inquiry;" and pledged himself, and implored others, to spare no exertions in the promotion of the great cause which had convened the meeting.

The Rev. J. Burnett moved the next resolution, which was a call on the constituency of Great Britain and Ireland to unite as one man in the cause of emancipation. After alluding to the frequent but comparatively unavailing efforts made by the friends of the negroes to obtain from the legislature the necessary measures for the abolition of slavery, the electors were now called upon to return only those men who were friendly to negro emancipation. Mr. B. observed, that the proposed address would go forth with their best wishes; and, if the friends of freedom were obedient to its summons, it was quite impossible that the day should not be their own.

Mr. W. Evans, M.P., in seconding the motion, observed, that the friends of emancipation had many difficulties to encounter, but this afforded no reason for abandoning hope; it should rather stimulate them to unite their efforts, and trust to

the justice, righteousness, and holiness of their cause, that God would influence the hearts of the people not to slacken in their endeavours, while there remained a single slave within the British dominions.

Mr. Geo. Stephen moved the adoption of a petition to parliament, embodying the sentiments expressed in the above resolutions, which he hoped would be signed by all present, and thus become invested with an importance worthy of the society whose sentiments it expressed.

The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel seconded the motion, and observed, that the planters had too long acted upon their declaration, that slavery and christianity were incompatible. He held in his hand a statement respecting the conduct of the baptist missionaries, which had the strongest internal evidence of being strictly true. It showed that the insurrections were neither directly nor indirectly to be traced to those meritorious men, who had exposed themselves to contumely, to danger, and to death, that they might faithfully discharge the sacred duties to which they had devoted themselves. They had been imprisoned a month, and then discharged for want of evidence. The persecution which the missionaries had suffered was far too systematic to be attributed to a momentary excitement. It could only have originated in a determined disposition for vengeance, and a deep-rooted enmity to religious instruction, which prevailed in all the colonies towards all bodies of missionaries. The methodist missionaries also had been imprisoned, but discharged for want of evidence: in other colonies, missionaries of other denominations, and fines of-

twenty pounds, had been imposed by the Assembly of Jamaica on any religious teacher who should convene a meeting after sunset, the only time when the negroes could receive instruction. Those who watched the influence of religion on the character must have observed, that its effect on the most degraded being was to make him wiser and better, was to render him, when otherwise he would have been goaded into madness by insult and wrong, calm and patient; not submissive, like a spaniel, but christian-like, cheered under the hardest earthly lot by the hope of a blessed immortality. Ought not the pulse to beat with the deepest emotions of pity, when they saw communities resolving that the gospel should be driven from the hearts and minds of the poor negroes? Were these things accidental? No, otherwise they could not be. The dominion of the West Indian over the slave would go on: the religious man must go on: and the subject before this meeting would go on. It was fitting that they should obey in all things lawful, but beyond that line neither slave nor freeman was warranted in proceeding, for they were responsible to a Master higher than the highest among terrestrial authorities.* It was, however, for according obedience to this precept that the slaves had been punished, flogged, and sent to the workhouse. But through every trial, let the missionaries testify the efficacy of religion by the display of christian fervour. Let methodists, baptists, and moravians, alike concur in the sacred work. He would call upon all present, of whatever denomination they might be, to stand forth in support of the righteous cause. The deeds of planters were suicidal: they would serve to quicken

the exertions of those christian bodies who had been insulted in the persons of their missionaries, and a phalanx would thus be formed that would pronounce a final sentence on the unhallowed system. Persecution would be the parent of a more powerful opposition. If the West Indians had not persecuted the members of the established church, they had scandalized it by their pretended church unions. He was sure, that every minister of the church, who really loved the blessed Saviour, and therefore loved his people, would aid in this glorious cause, and extend his favour to those who were labouring to promote the knowledge of Christ among our species.

Mr. Crampton, the Solicitor-General for Ireland, after a few spirited remarks, proposed a resolution to this effect:—"That this meeting resolve to redouble their exertions, and never to relax their most strenuous efforts on behalf of their enslaved fellow subjects, until the objects of the society shall be fully accomplished; and that a collection be now made, and subscriptions and donations be solicited, in aid of the funds of the society." This resolution (added Mr. C.) asserts the sentiment which I just now uttered with your hearty concurrence. Colonial slavery ought to be abolished! it may be abolished! it must be abolished! For the sake of the slaves, for the sake of the masters, for the sake of British liberty, for the sake of the British people, in the name of justice, in the name of humanity, in the name of religion itself, *slavery must be abolished!*

Mr. Henry Pownall seconded the motion, and entreated the friends of the negro not to be deluded by the cry of mitigation, and not to think

lightly of negro slavery; for just in proportion as they thought lightly of slavery abroad, they would undervalue liberty at home.

The venerable chairman concluded by observing, that, however vivid the impressions on the meeting of the evils of slavery, they must be feeble compared with his own, he having been eleven years an eye-witness of it. But he trusted that, though spared the painful sight, they would not relax their efforts, but would unremittingly devote themselves, heart and soul, to the cause of the negroes, so long as they remained unemancipated.

This was the last anniversary which this enlightened, benevolent, and efficient advocate of emancipation, was permitted to attend. Before the next year his spirit had passed the boundary of time. Yet we cannot help indulging the idea, that the spirits of the just made perfect are permitted to take an interest in the accomplishment of those schemes of holy benevolence to which their energies were consecrated while on earth, and especially a measure so intimately connected with the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom among the sable tribes of Africa.

At the close of this meeting the Rev. Joseph Ivimey proposed a petition to the king; but, from the lateness of the hour, and the few persons who remained in the Hall, he consented to withdraw the petition, and to bring it forward at some other meeting. Accordingly, a meeting was held at Mr. Ivimey's chapel, in Eagle street, Holborn, May 23, William Knight, Esq., of the Society of Friends, in the chair. Mr. Ivimey addressed the meeting, on the acknowledged principles of the British law, as founded on the law of *nature* and

the law of *revelation*, and in no case to be suffered to contradict them. He therefore grounded his opposition to slavery, not on arguments drawn from policy, expediency, cruelty, and humanity, but on the direct opposition of slavery to the law of God; and on this was grounded a petition to the king, presented for the adoption of the meeting, imploring his majesty's gracious consideration; and that he would be pleased, in the exercise of his royal prerogative, to command his ministers forthwith to prepare a bill, and to lay it before both houses of legislature for their approbation, that such a law might be passed, without loss of time, as should be necessary to put an end to slavery in all the colonies of Great Britain, and thus carry into full operation the gracious promise of his majesty on ascending the throne, to promote the prosperity and happiness of all classes of the people.

The meeting requested the chairman, and George Stephen, Esq., to convey the petition to Lord Melbourne, Secretary of State, with a request that he would present it to the king at the earliest opportunity. What results attended this "appeal unto Cæsar" we do not exactly know. Doubtless it tended, in concurrence with other expressions of public feeling, to convince the government of the country that something effectual ought to be done.

The remarks quoted will show how much the tone of the abolitionists was raised; never had the sentiments of the speakers been expressed with equal boldness at any former meeting. Recent events had roused the most gentle, had given boldness to the most timid, and conviction to the most hesitating, and had hastened on the maturity of that harvest so earnestly desired by the friends of

humanity, so bitterly deprecated by the advocates of slavery.

May 24th was appointed for the discussion of Mr. Buxton's motion in the house of commons for the speedy and total extinction of slavery. The friends of the object throughout the country united in urging upon their representatives the duty of supporting Mr. Buxton in the important debate anticipated at this eventful crisis. The atrocious deeds of the slave-holders, the slaughter of the oppressed slaves, and the persecution of the innocent and devoted missionaries, gave peculiar energy to the voice of the British people, in calling upon their senators to "DO JUSTLY." The measure proposed was, "That a select committee be appointed to consider and to report upon the measures which it may be expedient to adopt for effecting the extinction of slavery throughout the British dominions, at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all classes in the colonies." After a very interesting discussion, of which one of the most remarkable features was the obviously improved tone and temper of the majority of the house on this great question, an amendment was proposed by Lord Sandon, and supported by ministers, to the effect, that all the measures adopted should be "in conformity with the resolutions of the house on May 15, 1823." This amendment was carried by a majority of seventy-three, one hundred and sixty-three voting for the amendment, and ninety for the original motion. Accordingly, a select committee was appointed, which commenced its sittings May 31, and continued them to August 11; but before we enter on the particulars of this important investi-

gation, it may be desirable to mention some circumstances, which, though of more limited extent, were not without weight and interest. The anniversary of the Baptist Missionary Society was held June 19. Its interest was greatly increased by the opportune arrival of the Rev. Wm. Knibb, who gave a most animated and thrilling account of the sufferings endured by himself and his persecuted brethren, and of the state of the mission in general. His statements were listened to with the deepest interest; and to adopt the well-known phrase of the dying martyr, he that day "lit such a torch in England, as, by the grace of God, was never to be put out," until British colonial slavery was consumed; and the embers of which, carried across the Atlantic, will, we trust, again blaze, and kindle in America a holy flame of sacred ardour in the cause of liberty and righteousness, that shall speedily consume every vestige of the odious system of slavery which now disgraces that land of the free.

Mr. Knibb remarked that, standing in the presence of a British christian assembly, he should consider any thing like apology improper. If ever the mouth spoke out of the abundance of the heart, his did so at present. He was entirely willing to forgive those who would have killed him, and felt unwilling to make the exposures which must be made; but he must fully and boldly declare, that *the society's missionary stations could no longer exist in Jamaica without the entire and immediate abolition of slavery.* He had been requested to be moderate, but he could not restrain himself from speaking the truth. The christians in that island had always been quiet,

and never had he there expressed an opinion on slavery; nor would he now have spoken, but that their persecutors had taken from them their religious privileges. But amidst all, the piety and affection of the christian slaves had supported the missionaries, and they anticipated spending an eternity with them, where none could offer molestation. He had for nearly eight years trod the burning soil of that island, and often had that meeting been gratified with the tidings of success; but all now had passed away, and they had hung their harps on the willows. Axes and hammers had demolished their chapels; a Church Colonial Society had been formed; the ministers were threatened with destruction; and infidels, clergymen, and magistrates, had combined to banish christianity from the island. He could assure the meeting that slaves would never be allowed to worship God till slavery had been abolished. Even if it were at the risk of his connexion with the society, he would avow this; and if the friends of missions would not hear him, he would turn and tell it to his God; nor would he ever desist till this greatest of curses was removed, and "glory to God in the highest" inscribed on the British flag.

The speaker remarked, that in proceeding to state *facts*, he should ask no favour. He was quite ready to prove all he had to say. Britons might have their parliaments, and might make laws, but till they allowed slaves to be men, and tell them what slavery is, they would never know it. He could not tell a tithe of the facts he knew, but now, being a free man, he could assure them that every law which issued from a British king

and his ministers, was treated in Jamaica with contempt; and when he left the island the whites were rejoicing that Earl Grey had been removed from his majesty's council. A few months before he left the island, some of the slaves came to him, and asked him whether they would be free after Christmas. He told them, no. They said that Buckra told them, when they were laid down to be flogged, they would be free after Christmas, and so he would flog them more now. He was then told by parties, whose names he mentioned, that the slaves would not work unless they were paid for it. He expostulated with them, and assured them from the pulpit on the sabbath day that no free papers were come. He then read some passages from the defence he had intended to make on his trial, to show that he had never interfered between the slaves and their masters. In addition to the advice he gave to the slaves in his own neighbourhood to go to work, he sent to *seventy* estates, and in but one instance had any of them joined in the insurrection; and that one was caused by a woman named Williams being flogged till her back was one mass of gore, because she refused to surrender her person to the overseer. He then proceeded to detail, at some length, his being compelled to join the militia, his imprisonment, and the dreadful oppressions and sufferings to which he was subjected; and asked, if a white man was thus treated, what might the slave expect at such hands? He then related the facts connected with his trial; remarking that the attorney-general founded his indictment on evidence which had been previously rejected, that three witnesses out of four declared to him that he was innocent,

and that his horses were stolen from him by an English officer, which greatly increased his difficulty in the collection of evidence. Having himself been freed, he was employed to get at the facts connected with the rebellion, and read some of the information he had received, to the effect that while the missionaries encouraged them to work, the whites told them they would be free after Christmas, but that they would spill their blood rather than they should have their liberty. The real cause of the rebellion, he stated, was giving the negroes an idea that they would be free, in which the missionaries had no concern whatever. Among other instances of cruelty practised on the slaves, in order to extort information, they took one of the faithful servants of Mr. Burchell, and shut him up in a close room with a pan of burning brimstone, for twenty-four hours, telling him he should have a taste of hell before he got there. He then read a letter addressed by his congregation to the friends of the mission, showing their gratitude for the gospel, and their strong desire for its continuance; and closed by saying, that he stood on that platform as the feeble advocate of twenty thousand baptists, who would be flogged if they dared to pray; that he wished to return to his church of nine hundred and eighty members, and two thousand five hundred inquirers after salvation, two thousand of whom he had often seen at the six o'clock prayer-meeting on the sabbath morning, but that he would not return till slavery was destroyed. He ended a long, and deeply-interesting and impressive speech, by urging on every class of the assembly the most affecting considerations, to rouse them to action.

July 10th, a special meeting of the Board of Baptist Ministers was holden for the purpose of taking into consideration the outrages lately perpetrated on the persons and property of the baptist missionaries in Jamaica, when four resolutions were passed:—

1. Expressive of their full conviction that the principles on which the Baptist Missionary Society had acted, were strictly accordant with the pacific spirit of the gospel, and that their missionaries in Jamaica had acted in conformity with the instructions given them by the society. They therefore viewed with indignation the attempts to criminate the missionaries as parties in the late insurrection; and congratulated the committee, and the whole christian public, on the signally triumphant manner in which those charges had been refuted.

2. Expressive of their expectation that the appeals to government for protection and redress would be effectual,—that the property lost by the violent and illegal outrages would be replaced, and the missionaries protected against a recurrence of similar outrages.

3. Expressive of their conviction that the decided hostility manifested on this, and on former occasions, by slave-holders against christian missionaries, indicated that the system of slavery was irreconcileably opposed to the progress of the gospel, and ought therefore to be no longer protected by the British government.

4. That a petition, founded on these resolutions, should be presented to parliament; and that, as a general election was expected speedily to take place, their friends throughout the kingdom should

be called upon to support such candidates only as would pledge themselves to promote the immediate and entire abolition of slavery.

The Anti-Slavery Agency Committee published a very powerful address, in prospect of the assembling of the first reformed parliament, calling upon all the friends of humanity and liberty conscientiously to exercise their elective franchise, in sending to parliament such representatives as would pledge themselves to promote the abolition of slavery, and urging them to act with decision and unanimity, and upon christian principles, in the expression of their sentiments and the prosecution of their measures.

About this time, very interesting official communications were received from the West Indies;—some which marked the determined virulence and rancour of the enemies of negro emancipation and christian missions, and which affected to be considered as expressions of *general feeling*; others disclaiming a participation in such feelings; and others, from the christian missionaries, repelling the charges against them. Under the first class we find a report of a committee of the house of assembly in Jamaica, appointed to inquire into the causes of the late rebellion, which they assign as follows:—

"First, the primary and most powerful cause arose from an evil excitement, created in the minds of our slaves generally, by the unceasing and unconstitutional interference of his majesty's ministers with our local legislature, in regard to the passing of laws for their government, with the intemperate expression of the sentiments of the present ministers, as well as other individuals in

the commons house of parliament, in Great Britain, on the subject of slavery: such discussion, coupled with the false and wicked reports of the Anti-Slavery Society, having been industriously circulated by the aid of the press throughout this island, as well as the British empire.

"Secondly, from a delusive expectation, produced among the whole of the slave population, by the machinations of crafty and evil-disposed persons, who, taking advantage of the prevailing excitement, imposed upon their disturbed imagination a belief that they were to be free after christmas, and, in the event of freedom being then withheld from them, they 'must be prepared to fight for it.'

"Thirdly, from a mischievous abuse existing in the system adopted by different religious sects in this island, termed baptists, Wesleyan methodists, and moravians, by their recognising gradations of rank among such of our slaves as had become converts to their doctrines, whereby the less ambitious, and more peaceable among them, were made the dupes of the artful and intelligent, who had been selected by the preachers of those particular sects, to fill the higher offices in their chapels, under the denomination of rulers, elders, leaders, and helpers; and, lastly, the public discussions of the free inhabitants here, consequent upon the continued suggestions made by the king's ministers, regarding further measures of amelioration, to be introduced into the slave code of this island, and the preaching and teaching of the religious sects called baptists, Wesleyan methodists, and moravians, (but more particularly the sect called baptists,) which had the effect of producing, in the minds of the slaves, a belief that

they could not serve both a spiritual and a temporal master, thereby occasioning them to resist the lawful authority of their temporal, under the delusion of rendering themselves more acceptable to a spiritual Master."

They then proceed to detail the amount of property destroyed, and of expenses incurred, in suppressing the rebellion, which they estimate at £1,154,583. 2*s*. 1*d*., and £161,596. 19*s*. 9*d*., making a total of £1,316,180. 1*s*. 10*d*.; not including, of course, the destruction of chapels and other missionary property, which they would have no idea of replacing.

Under the second class, we have the loyal and public-spirited declarations and resolutions of the black freeholders and other inhabitants of Kingston.

"Resolved 1st.—That we, the black inhabitants of the city, are loyally attached to our gracious and beloved sovereign William the Fourth.

"Resolved 2d.—That we are desirous, by legal means, to secure to all classes of his majesty's subjects in this island the blessings of the free constitution of Great Britain.

"Resolved 3d.—That we are not, as has been insinuated, inimical to the amelioration and ultimate emancipation of our brethren in slavery.

"Resolved 4th.—That we are not, as has been stated, at variance on material questions with our coloured brethren. On the contrary, we are ready to co-operate with them, and all liberal and just men, in every effort which may be legally and constitutionally made for the welfare of all classes in the island.

"Resolved 5th.—That we respect the rights of private property not less than we desire the welfare

of our brethren in slavery; and, whilst looking forward to the ultimate emancipation of the slaves, pursuant to the resolution of parliament and of his majesty's government, we do not forget that the best redress for evil is always to be found in the melioration of law, supported by the liberal feeling of all classes of the community.

"Resolved 6th.—That not having exercised the right of the elective franchise, by means of a general dissolution of the house of assembly, which would have enabled us to give an opinion on the choice of the popular branch of our legislature, we cannot be considered as represented by the legislators by whose laws we are governed.

"Resolved 7th.—That in pursuance of the foregoing sentiments, we will cordially join our liberal-minded brethren, of every complexion, in any petition or memorial to his majesty, or his government, for the final settlement of the question of slavery, so that the peace and security of the island may at once be established on a permanent basis."

Equally interesting documents were furnished from Trinidad and the Bahamas.

In the third class, we have the spirited protests of the baptist and Wesleyan missionaries against the foul and groundless aspersions cast upon their characters.

PROTEST OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARIES.

"The baptist missionaries have viewed with indignation and abhorrence the unjust attempt made by the committee of the honourable house of assembly, appointed to examine into the causes of the late rebellion, to injure their characters in the

estimation of the British public, by preferring charges against them which cannot be substantiated —charges as repugnant to the feelings of the missionaries, as dishonourable to the men who framed them.

"It is not for the baptist missionaries to say what was the primary or secondary cause of the late disastrous events; it is sufficient for them at present to state that neither their 'preaching, teaching,' nor conduct was that cause, and they dare the 'Rebellion Committee' to prove that it was so.

"The baptist missionaries, conscious of their innocence of the charges publicly preferred against them in the report of the 'Rebellion Committee,' feel it to be a duty they owe to themselves—to their friends in this country—to the Baptist Missionary Society in England, to which they are attached, and to the religious world at large, thus publicly to state that the charges brought against them, by that committee, are unfounded and unjust; that they have wantonly and grossly libelled men whose characters have never yet been sullied; who have ever submitted in all civil matters unto the powers that be; who have inculcated on servants and slaves the duty of obedience to their masters; and the tenor of whose ministrations has been agreeable with, and in conformity to, the doctrines and precepts of that gospel which is both pure and peaceable.

"One of the baptist missionaries has already been tried on these charges, by the highest legal authorities in the island, and acquitted; and all of them have shown their willingness to submit to any legal investigation into their conduct.

'Deep-rooted and unbending prejudice has been manifested towards them by men from whom they ought to have received protection.—Bribery, perjury, and every species of iniquity, has been resorted to, for the pupose of criminating the 'baptist missionaries in particular,' but in vain; and yet the 'Rebellion Committee' have condemned them unheard—have found them guilty on evidence which the missionaries have never been made acquainted with; consequently, neither themselves nor their friends have had an opportunity of disproving it, and have condemned, *in toto*, preaching which they have never heard.

"These facts, to the enlightened and unprejudiced public of Great Britain, will afford sufficient proof that the 'Rebellion Committee' have merely chosen this apparently favourable opportunity, for the purpose of expressing their determined and long-cherished hatred to religion and its propagators, and they will, at the same time, tend to establish, more firmly than ever, the unimpeachable characters of

"THE BAPTIST MISSIONARIES.

"*Kingston, May 8th*, 1832."

PROTEST OF THE WESLEYAN METHODISTS.

"*Kingston, May* 11, 1832.

"At a meeting of the Wesleyan missionaries, and of the leaders of their respective societies, in this island, convened by the chairman of the district, and held in the Parade chapel, this 10th day of May, 1832, for the purpose of protesting against the report of the committee appointed by the honourable house of assembly to ascertain the causes of the late rebellion,—It was unanimously

"*Resolved 1st,*—That we have read the report of the committee appointed by the honourable house of assembly, to inquire into the causes of the late rebellion in this island; and perceive, with great surprise and indignation, the unworthy attempt which is made to implicate us, and our people, as the promoters of the same.

"Resolved 2d,—That as neither the Wesleyan missionaries, nor the leaders in their societies, were directly or indirectly concerned in instigating, or in any way aiding in the late rebellion, we consider the aforesaid report, as far as it relates to the 'Wesleyan methodists,' utterly false and unfounded; nearly all the 'leaders' being respectable free persons, most of whom are owners of slaves.

"Resolved 3d,—That as the report aforesaid is calculated to bring our system into disrepute, by asserting that it affords facilities for exciting rebellion among the slaves, we feel ourselves called upon to maintain that our system is scriptural, and peculiarly calculated to promote peace and good order among all classes of his majesty's subjects, whether free or slaves; and that nothing contrary to this can be proved against it. That, therefore, the aforesaid report is a gross calumny, not only upon ourselves and people in this island, but also upon the body to which we belong.

"Resolved 4th,—That being conscious of our own innocence, and of the praiseworthy conduct of the members of our societies in this island during the late disturbances, we consider it our imperative duty to protest, in the most public and solemn manner, both here and in Great Britain, against the charges preferred against us in the report aforesaid; and also against the conduct of individuals who could make such a wanton attack upon

our characters, without allowing us an opportunity of self-vindication.

"Resolved 5th,—That the assertion, contained in the aforesaid report, that the 'preaching' and 'teaching' of the 'Wesleyan methodists' is calculated to mislead the minds of the slaves, on the subject of 'lawful authority,' is unworthy our serious consideration; their ability to expound and enforce the holy scriptures having been decided by a competent tribunal, and the falsehood of the charge can be refuted by an appeal to the thousands of their hearers throughout the island.

"Resolved 6th,—That we feel ourselves called upon expressly to state that there are no 'gradations of rank' recognized in our societies, in connexion with the slaves in this colony, but members and 'leaders,' of whom we entertain the highest opinion, and whose conduct is unimpeachable.

"Resolved 7th,—That these resolutions be signed by all present on behalf of our societies in this island, and that a copy of them, signed by the chairman and secretary of this meeting, in behalf of the seventeen missionaries, and four hundred and forty-six leaders, be forwarded immediately to his excellency the governor, the Earl of Belmore.

"Resolved 8th,—That these resolutions be published in three of the island newspapers, that a copy be transmitted, with the least possible delay, to our committee in London, and by them presented to our most gracious sovereign, in any way which to them may appear the most acceptable.

"THOMAS PENNOCK, *Chairman.*
"THOMAS MURRAY, *Secretary.*"

To these we may add the speech of Mr. Watkis (a gentleman of colour) in the colonial assembly of Jamaica, on a motion for the appointment of a committee to inquire into and adjust the differences existing with the parent government.

"My object," said the honourable member, "in submitting this motion to the consideration of the house, is to obtain the aid of a committee in order to ascertain whether there is not some common ground of mutual advantage on which the house might be recommended to co-operate with the parent country in settling, on a final and beneficial basis, the great questions that have given birth to the unhappy differences which now sever us. That such a settlement might be effected, or at all events very much facilitated, I am firmly convinced, provided the two parties could once be brought into amicable contact. The ultimate aim of my present motion is to place them, if possible, in this conciliating relation towards each other. Much is in our power, and much will be required at our hands. To us are confided the very issues of the social destiny—the most solemn trust man could hold for man; and, on the wise and temperate manner in which we discharge this high trust, depend the present safety and future hopes of this community. When, sir, we regard the advancing state of political philosophy, as well in our own community as in all the civilized nations of the globe, it appears to me to be the wildest of hopes to expect, by any efforts in our power, to secure the perpetuation of slavery; and when again we meditate for a moment on the almost mortal agony through which this country has just and scarcely struggled, it is surely even worse than wild to wish

to perpetuate a system which, be it remembered, not in our day and country only, but throughout all times and in all lands where it has existed, has engendered the same monstrous brood of evils—has led to the same results of insurrection, woe, and crime. Again, sir, if we judge by the known principles of human nature, or appeal to the experience of all history, we cannot avoid arriving at the conviction that all governments founded on the exclusion of the mass from a participation in political rights, are by the very law of their constitution liable to change; they contain within themselves the elements of their own decay and ultimate destruction. And why? because they are based on the principles of force and fear—not on those of happiness and love. It is manifest that such governments can be maintained only by the moral influence of superior intelligence or by the coercion of superior physical power. As the negro exchanges (which he is rapidly doing) his ignorance for enlightenment, the spell wherewith superior intelligence may for a while have bound the slumbering energies of his soul, must dissolve, and, when that enlightenment shall have attained a certain point, it is clear as the sun at noon that no physical force we can raise will be sufficient to control him. It is impossible, too, to disguise from ourselves the fact that our negroes have now nearly attained that measure of enlightenment at which they must cease to be slaves; and, without pretending to the mantle of prophecy, it is not difficult to predict that if some steps are not speedily taken, we shall again, and that perhaps soon, have to mourn our ruined fortunes and murdered kindred. Situated therefore as we are, with such darkening prospects around us, it assuredly

behoves us, in timely resignation, to descend from our pride of place, instead of brooding over schemes of bootless opposition to a tide of change which we can neither stem nor turn, and in which gathering flood all opposition must eventually be whelmed. If we offer, in a spirit of wise and liberal concession, to co-operate with the British government, we shall be met with a like spirit of wisdom and concession, from which good must flow to all parties and evil to none. I have been persecuted with calumny on account of the very humble part that I have taken in promoting what, in my conscience, I believe to be the real interests of this island. But no persecution, no hate, no calumny, shall ever for one instant deter me from expressing and enforcing my opinions through the constitutional organ of this house. Those opinions are the unchangeable convictions of my reason, and so long as life and opportunity are left me, I will unceasingly labour to advance that noblest work—the political and moral regeneration of mankind."

June 9th, 1832, Lord Goderich addressed a circular to the governors of the colonies, announcing to them the formation of a committee in the House of Commons, in consequence of the numerous petitions for the abolition of slavery, to consider and report what measures it might be expedient to adopt with that view. This intelligence, we can easily conceive, was not very cordially welcomed by the colonists in general. No matter; the sun of freedom had risen too high for the flight of bats and owls to intercept its rays. The committee of inquiry was sitting, and each day elicited fresh facts or confirmations illustrative of the evils of slavery, and of the necessity, safety, and practicability of emancipation. Even the reluctant admissions

and awkward apologies or evasions of adverse witnesses, served only to confirm and establish the views of all thinking and impartial persons on the other side.

The committee consisted of the following gentlemen :—

Mr. Fowell Buxton,
Lord John Russell,
Sir Robert Peel, Bart.
Sir James Graham, Bart.
Sir George Murray, Bart.
Mr. Goulburn,
Mr. Burge,
Mr. Evans,
Lord Viscount Sandon,
Lord Viscount Howick,
The Marquis of Chandos,
Mr. Andrew Johnston,
Mr. Marryat,
Mr. George John Vernon,
Mr. Holmes,
Dr. Lushington,
Mr. Baring,
Mr. Frankland Lewis,
Lord Viscount Ebrington,
Mr. Littleton,
Mr. Bonham Carter,
Mr. Hodges,
Mr. Ord,
Mr. Fazakerley,
Mr. Alderman Thompson.

The witnesses examined were :—

1. WILLIAM TAYLOR, Esq., who had resided thirteen years in Jamaica, chiefly engaged in commercial pursuits, intermixed with occasional visits to plantations in various parts of the island.
2. The Rev. JOHN BARRY, a Wesleyan minister, who had resided about six years. He was one of the persecuted missionaries, and returned home in consequence of the disturbances, as did also
3. The Rev. PETER DUNCAN, after an uninterrupted residence of eleven years.
4. The Rev. THOMAS COOPER, a unitarian missionary, resident in Jamaica five years and a quarter.
5. Mr. HENRY LOVING, a coloured gentleman,

born a slave, but emancipated at nine years of age. Had resided from his birth on the island of Antigua until he visited this country, a few months before.

6. The Rev. JOHN THORP, a clergyman of the church of England, resident in Jamaica two years and a quarter.
7. The Rev. W. S. AUSTIN, a clergyman of the church of England, a native of the West Indies, who had resided in Barbadoes, Demerara, Berbice, and Surinam, and had occasionally visited some of the other colonies. His father was a proprietor of slaves, whom he was destined to inherit, and whom he managed for some years before he entered the church. He had resided fourteen years in the slave colonies after he had completed his eighteenth year.
8. Vice-Admiral the Honourable CHARLES FLEMING, who had known the British West Indies for thirty-five years, and visited them all with the exception of St. Kitts and Tortola. He had also visited Cuba, the Caraccas, and Hayti.
9. ROBERT SUTHERLAND, Esq., a gentleman of colour, who had resided or visited at Hayti at various periods, from 1815 to 1827. He had also resided three years at the Caraccas, as British consul.
10. The Rev. NATH. PAUL, a gentleman of colour, a native of the United States, who resided as a baptist missionary in various slave states, until, in 1830, he came to England.
11. The Rev. THOS. MORGAN, a Wesleyan missionary, who had resided in various West

Indian colonies eighteen years, reduced by an interval of two years to sixteen years.

12. The Rev. W. KNIBB, a baptist missionary, seven years resident in Jamaica, one of the persecuted missionaries just returned in consequence of the rebellion.
13. Captain C. H. WILLIAMS, Royal Navy, who had passed a short time in the West Indies.
14. W. ALERS HANKEY, Esq., a banker of London, late treasurer of the London Missionary Society, a proprietor of slaves,* who had not visited the West Indies.
15. J. de P. OGDEN, a native of New York, now resident at Liverpool.
16. R. SCOTT, Esq., resident in Jamaica five years, had been proprietor or manager of four thousand slaves. Left the island in 1809.
17. JAS. SIMPSON, Esq., resident in Jamaica nearly twenty-four years, representative of some noblemen and gentlemen absentee proprietors of estates, and for some time a partner in the house of Mr. W. Taylor (witness 1.)
18. WILLIAM MIER, Esq., a native of the United States, formerly the proprietor of five hundred slaves in Georgia, whom he afterwards sold.
19. Rev. JOHN SHIPMAN, a Wesleyan missionary, resident in Jamaica ten years.
20 Rev. ROBERT YOUNG, a Wesleyan missionary, resident in Jamaica five years.
21. WM. SHAND, Esq., a proprietor and manager of slaves, having resided in Jamaica thirty-four years, and during that time had under

* Not from choice, but circumstances. A friend to the instruction of slaves, and an encourager of missionaries among them, and desirous of their emancipation.

his charge eighteen or twenty thousand slaves. He was also a magistrate, and a member of the assembly.

22. BRYAN ADAMS, Esq., who had resided in the Caraccas.
23. Mr. JOHN FORD PYNE, who had resided in Cuba.
24. H. T. BOWEN, Esq., who had resided in Caraccas four years.
25. R. G. AMYOT, chief clerk in the registry of colonial slaves in London.
26. SAMUEL BAKER, Esq., who had twice visited Jamaica.
27. A. G. DIGNUM, Esq., who resided fourteen years in Jamaica as a practising solicitor.
28. Vice Admiral Sir CHARLES ROWLEY, generally acquainted with the West Indies, and who commanded on the Jamaica station for three or four years.
29. J. B. WILDMAN, Esq., a West India proprietor, possessing six hundred and forty slaves in Jamaica. Has resided there about four years.
30. Rev. J. T. BENNETT, secretary to the society for the conversion of negroes.
31. WM. BURGE, Esq., late attorney general for Jamaica, and afterwards agent for that island.
32. JAS. M'GREGOR, Esq., a gentleman who has resided in British America.

These witnesses were examined at considerable length; and many most important, and some startling facts, were elicited in the course of their evidence. Some of them were the zealous friends of emancipation, others were the fastidious, timid

advocates of gradual measures, and some were anxious to perpetuate the existing condition of things. The committee having considered the matter to them referred, agreed on the following report:—

"Your committee, in pursuance of the instructions by which they were appointed, having assembled to consider 'the measures most expedient to be adopted for the extinction of slavery throughout the British dominions at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all classes in the colonies,' adverted, in the first instance, to the condition contained in the terms of reference, which provides, that such extinction shall be 'in conformity with the resolutions of the house, passed on the 15th of May, 1823.' This house, at that time, looked forward to 'such a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, as might prepare them for a participation of those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his majesty's subjects. This house also then declared, 'That it was anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property.'

"In the consideration of a question involving so many difficulties of a conflicting nature, and branching into subjects so various and so complicated, it appeared necessary to your committee, by agreement in the first instance, to limit their inquiries to certain heads.

"It was therefore settled that two main points arising out of the terms of reference should be

investigated, and these were embraced in the two following propositions:—1st, That the slaves, if emancipated, would maintain themselves, would be industrious, and disposed to acquire property by labour. 2d, That the dangers of convulsion are greater from freedom withheld, than from freedom granted to the slaves.

"Evidence was first called to prove the affirmative of these propositions. It had been carried in this direction to a considerable extent, and was not exhausted when it was evident the session was drawing to a close, and that this most important and extensive inquiry could not be satisfactorily finished. At the same time your committee was unwilling to take an ex-parte view of the case; it was therefore decided to let in evidence of an opposite nature, intended to disprove the two propositions, and to rebut the testimony adduced in their support. Even this limited examination has not been fully accomplished, and your committee has been compelled to close its labours in an abrupt and unfinished state. With some few exceptions, the inquiry has been confined to the island of Jamaica, and the important question of what is due 'to the fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property,' as connected with emancipation, has not been investigated by your committee.

"Many incidental topics, which your committee could not leave unnoticed, have presented themselves in the course of this inquiry, and some opinions have been pronounced and some expressions used by witnesses, which may seem to be injurious to the character of persons in high stations in the colonies. Unwilling to present the

evidence in a garbled state, your committee have resolved not to exclude from their minutes testimony thus implicating the conduct of public functionaries, but they are bound to impress on the house the consideration which it is just constantly to remember, that no opportunity of contradicting or explaining these statements has been afforded to the parties accused, and evidence of this description must be received with peculiar caution. Your committee, however, are unwilling that the fruits of their inquiry should be entirely lost, and they present the evidence taken before them to the house, which, although incomplete, embraces a wide range of important information, and discloses a state of affairs demanding the earliest and most serious attention of the legislature."

In the above evidence that of the missionaries was singularly striking and powerful. The clergymen and dissenting ministers of every denomination concurred in establishing the melancholy fact, that the system of slavery presented a formidable barrier to the religious and intellectual culture of the negroes. Most, if not all of them, attested, or at least admitted, that, notwithstanding the various measures of government for their protection and the melioration of their condition, the slaves were still subject to most wanton, capricious, and unjustifiable cruelty and oppression, and especially to opposition and persecution for the sake of religion. The fact seemed also to be pretty clearly established that they were eagerly desirous of obtaining their liberty, that nothing short of it would satisfy them, and that it might be safely granted, but could not be safely delayed. The charges against the missionaries, as fomenting or abetting the rebellion, were

most triumphantly refuted, and the infamous conduct of many influential and official persons clearly exposed. On the whole, the sentiment evidently gained ground that "the abolitionists established their case in evidence; and proved, not only that the slaves incurred no risk of suffering want by emancipation, but that their speedy emancipation afforded the only rational prospect of preserving the public peace, and of securing the permanent interests even of the planters themselves."

A similar investigation took place before a committee of the house of lords, consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Lichfield and Coventry, the Dukes of Buckingham and Richmond,* the Marquises of Sligo and Westminster, Earls Harewood, Radnor, Selkirk, and Bathurst; Viscounts Goderich, St. Vincent, Combermere, and Beresford; and Lords Seaford, Ellenborough, Suffield, Holland, Howard de Walden, Redesdale, Colville, Napier, Auckland, and Bexley.

Of the witnesses examined, twelve were of the number of those examined by the Commons, viz., No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12, 21, 27, 30, 31; in addition to whom were,—

1. The DUKE OF MANCHESTER, governor of Jamaica eighteen years.
2. HENRY JOHN HINCHCLIFFE, Esq., judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Jamaica, resident there seventeen years.
3. JOHN BAILLIE, Esq., a planter and manager of estates in Jamaica, resident there twenty-seven years.
4. LORD SEAFORD, a Jamaica planter, (on the committee.)

* This noble duke filled the chair.

5. Major-General Sir JOHN KEANE, late Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Jamaica, resident there eight years.
6. Sir MICHAEL CLARE, M. D., resident (with occasional intervals) thirty years.
7. Admiral Sir LAWRENCE HALSTED, late Commander-in-Chief on the Jamaica station for four years.
8. Lieutenant-Col. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, stationed about five months in Jamaica and about six months in Honduras.
9. Rev. JAMES CURTIN, a missionary, and afterwards a parochial clergyman in Antigua, resident about thirty years.
10. Lord HOWARD DE WALDEN, a West India proprietor (on the committee).
11. EDMUND SHARP, a Jamaica overseer for about twenty years.
12. WILLIAM THOMAS, a Berbice planter.
13. E. T. WOLSEY, resident at Hayti six months, and in the United States three years.
14. THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Esq., M. P.

This gentleman, who was justly considered as the leader of the slavery question in the house of commons, since the retirement of Mr. Wilberforce, had laboured indefatigably to show, from official documents, the real influence of the slave system on human life. From a careful comparison and collection of these documents, Mr. Buxton had laid before the house of commons a schedule of the negro population in the sugar colonies; by which it appeared, that on an average of eleven years, the decrease of population in all the colonies amounted to 52,624. For this melancholy fact the West Indians in vain endeavoured to account

and apologise, and lay the blame any where, rather than on the operation of the system. But "facts are stubborn things;" and it is probable that the dull labour of these tables was more really advantageous to the cause of abolition, than even the masterly reasoning and eloquent appeals which had so often engaged the admiration of listening crowds. In his examination before the lords, Mr. Buxton underwent a long cross-examination respecting these population tables, and the inferences he had drawn from them. In the result it clearly appeared that his references were correct, and his reasons and conclusions perfectly sound. His evidence also embraced all the variety of topics which might be supposed to have occupied a mind so clear and comprehensive, and so steadily directed to the question,—such as the moral debasement and physical sufferings of the slaves—the frightful waste of human life produced by slavery—the impediments to religious instruction—the religious persecutions that had taken place—the causes and progress of the late insurrection—the cruelties of various kinds incident to slavery—the advantages of an early emancipation to masters as well as to slaves, and the danger of delaying it—together with a variety of proofs drawn from history and experience, both of the perfect safety of such emancipation, and of the certainty of deriving from free labour an adequate supply of all the articles now produced by slave-labour. The evidence of those already examined before the house of commons was nearly of the same character as had been given in the other house; though some facts of a most atrocious character were brought forward, which had not been alluded to; such in particular as the cruel punishments inflicted

on female slaves, solely for their virtuous resistance to the vicious demands of profligate overseers. On the whole, to every candid and unprejudiced mind it must have been made evident, that the horrid system fully answered the emphatic description given us in scripture of the heart of man in its corrupt state, as "*altogether*, and *only, evil continually*." The report of the lords' committee was of a very vague character. It states the questions to which attention has been chiefly directed as—

1. Any progressive improvement in the state of the slaves since the abolition of the slave trade in 1807.

2. The actual state and condition of the slaves, the nature and duration of their labour, and evidence as to instances of cruelty and gross abuse of authority and power.

3. The increase or decrease of population as affected by slavery.

4. Plans for improving the condition of the slave or effecting his emancipation, and opinions as to the probable condition of the negro, and the effect upon society and property in the event of emancipation.

The evidence taken filled nearly fourteen hundred folio pages, and yet many other topics remained to which the committee state that their examination had not been directed, and on none had their inquiry been so complete as to enable them to submit to the house any definitive opinion. One result of no small moment evidently succeeded these investigations. The abettors of the slave system changed their tone, and from blustering against the rashness of emancipating slaves, began to whine and wheedle for compensation to slave

owners. In reply to this it was justly observed by one who, if not actually in the cabinet, was intimately connected and considerably influential there, —" I consider the whole system of slavery one of such oppression, iniquity, and cruelty, that if I could be satisfied it were safe to emancipate the slaves now, I would say, Do it, and do it at once; and we will settle scores among ourselves afterwards, and determine in what proportion the penalty of our guilt is to be paid; but the victims of that guilt must not continue for one hour to suffer whilst we are haggling about pounds, shillings, and pence."

Another, which might be regarded as a *dernier ressort* of the advocates of slavery, was the attempt to deny some particular statements, or to disparage the character and motives of individual advocates of emancipation. A considerable slave holder, resident in Gloucestershire, published an address to the electors of that county on the subject of slavery, in which, not content with asserting that the slaves were rich, contented, and happy, and that emancipation would be the greatest curse that could befal them, he stepped forth in a most ungentlemanly and unprovoked attack of Mr. Buxton, contemptuously calling the friends of humanity "misled anti-slavery Buxtonites," and accusing Mr. Buxton of "making assertions which he himself did not believe." He also threw out taunts and insinuations against Mr. Buxton, as having himself been a proprietor and seller of slaves. These charges, which had been brought forward with a minuteness of detail in close imitation of the garb of truth, and industriously circulated by the advocates of slavery, for the sole purpose of casting a stigma on its opposers, were most distinctly

and triumphantly refuted, by answers like the following:—Mr. B. was charged with persuading a relative to embark property in a West Indian concern *fifteen years before he was born;* with sending an agent to sell his slaves *three years before he was born;* with being executor to the *aunt of his wife* and *manager* of her West Indian property at the *early age of six years;* with sending out a respectable gentleman to extort the last shilling from his West Indian debtors and to sell his negroes, when, in fact, he *never had a West Indian debtor*, or a *negro to sell;* with being "Judas Iscariot;" "an enemy to slavery, though every shilling he possessed was wrung from the bones and sinews of slaves," when, in fact, he never was the master of a slave; never bought, or sold, or hired one; never owned a hogshead of sugar or an acre of land in the West Indies; nor ever possessed a shilling derived from slaves. Trifling as it may appear to allude to such base and contemptible slanders, it is necessary to show to what miserable subterfuges the advocates of the system were compelled to resort. In like manner a certain officer, (his name we forget, and let it be forgotten,) went up and down the country convening public meetings, and endeavouring to refute the statements of the missionaries, and to traduce their characters; but all these malignant efforts could not avail to prop a sinking cause; they only served to show the desperation of its advocates, and so far from obscuring the lustre or defacing the impress of truth, they only served to bring it forward in prominence more full and bright. The fearless Knibb and his associates were eagerly invited from place to place to attend missionary

and anti-slavery meetings, and in no one place did they fail to impress a deeper conviction than had before been felt of the indispensable duty incumbent on British christians to do away the horrors of slavery and to impart the blessings of the gospel of Christ. Had persecution driven them from the shores of Jamaica? Their persecutors had little reason to congratulate themselves on their success, for it is probable that during every month of the labours of the missionaries in England, more was effected for the cause of freedom and of missions than could have been accomplished by the labours of years in Jamaica. It was a severe trial to them to be separated from their negro flocks, but they were supported by the consciousness of being in the path of duty, and labouring *for*, though not labouring *among*, those to whose interests their lives were consecrated; they also indulged a humble confidence, which has not been disappointed, that in the absence of earthly shepherds, their flocks would be peculiarly cared for and preserved by the great Shepherd of the sheep.

The close of the year 1832 was marked by the assembling of the first reformed British parliament, and from a reformed parliament and an enlightened and liberal government much was expected. Mr. Buxton lost no time in giving notice of a motion for the abolition of slavery, unless government should take the matter into its own hands. In reply to this, Lord Althorp stated that it was the intention of government to do so, and that he should shortly bring before the house a measure which he trusted would be both safe and satisfactory. The nation waited in breathless anxiety for the farther developement of this plan; strenuous en-

deavours were made, still more widely to diffuse information on the subject of slavery, on which even now a lamentable degree of ignorance prevailed; addresses were issued by different individuals and societies, intended to excite those in their respective circles, to a diligent and zealous use of every means within their power that might, in any degree, tend to the promotion of the great object; and perhaps it is not too much to say, that from the secrecy of the closet, from the domestic altar, and from the full religious assembly, millions of prayers daily ascended to the Father of mercies that the chains of slavery might be speedily broken. Meanwhile, accounts from the agitated colonial districts were of such a nature as to demonstrate more strongly than ever the necessity of British interference of the most decided kind. Even the advocates of the system of slavery seemed to be in some degree convinced that it could not long be maintained.

The same line of tyranny, oppression, and persecution, which had already led to such disastrous results, was still pursued; missionaries were still opposed, licences for preaching refused, and slaves punished for praying. The injured missionary societies represented their grievances to his majesty's government, and sought redress. The justice of their claims was readily admitted, and despatches sent by the colonial secretary, directing that all persons implicated in the disgraceful tumults should be brought to justice, and the societies reimbursed for the losses they had sustained in the destruction of their chapels; but these directions were set at nought, and treated with the utmost contempt in the colony. In the

autumn of 1832, Lord Mulgrave was sent out as governor of Jamaica. On the meeting of the House of Assembly, his excellency addressed a most liberal, manly, and conciliatory speech. In reply, also, to a congratulatory address, presented by the Scotch missionaries, Lord Mulgrave expressed his conviction that it was by the *diffusion*, not the *suppression* of religious instruction that the restoration of tranquillity was to be hoped for; and by the instruction and influence of ministers, of whatever denomination, who should temper zeal with discretion, and command respect by their characters, while they communicated general instructions, he anticipated that the minds of the people would be opened to a sense of their duties as responsible beings, that they would be taught patience under the continuance of their present lot, and be adequately prepared for an altered condition. How little concurrence these sentiments, and other enlightened and liberal measures met with from the colonists and their representatives, may be inferred from the fact, that Earl Mulgrave was driven, by the contumacy of the assembly, to dissolve it. Inflammatory topics had been wantonly introduced into the first address of the house to the new governor, and resolutions of the most insulting character had been recorded; threats of revolt from the British government held out, and in every particular, a determined resistance had been manifested. The dissolution of the house of assembly was therefore a necessary, and proved an advantageous measure, as, in consequence of the reform bill, an enlarged constituency was called upon to form a new assembly, and, of course, a larger proportion of men of sound, enlightened, and

liberal views were returned. In addition to this, not only were the dispositions of the slave holders shown in their true colours by their resistance of government; but their unprovoked, violent, and persevering opposition against the teachers of religion could not fail to bring themselves, their doctrines, their conduct, and the societies with which they were connected, more fully before the public eye. Many who had before been indifferent to the operations of missionaries were convinced that much good had been effected and much evil averted by their labours; and many others, who had supported the missionary cause, but who so long as the missionaries were allowed to prosecute their labours without molestation had kept aloof from active co-operation in the anti-slavery cause, were convinced that the existence of slavery was the great bar to the success of the gospel, and were constrained to exert themselves in uprooting the system with an energy unknown before. Thus the cause both of liberty and religion gained accessions of strength, in consequence of the opposition of enemies. "Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee."

About this time a pamphlet appeared most opportunely, entitled, "Three Months in Jamaica, in 1832, comprising a Residence of Seven Weeks on a Sugar Plantation." The author of this pamphlet was a Mr. Whiteley, a man of highly respectable character, entirely unconnected with any anti-slavery society or advocate; indeed, who had but a few months before gone out to Jamaica as a book-keeper, with a strong bias in favour of the existing system; but the scenes of horror he there witnessed, the cruelty, the licentiousness, the oppression, the

persecution, fully convinced him of the evils of slavery. The scenes he daily witnessed rendered his situation wretched, and the remarks they almost involuntarily drew forth from him rendered his services unacceptable. He soon came home, and not with any view to personal gain, (for it was probably the ruin of his temporal interests,) but impelled by a sense of duty to his suffering fellow-men, he issued a detail of scenes so horrible as scarcely, perhaps, were ever before condensed in a threepenny pamphlet. This tract was most extensively circulated throughout the country, just at a time when a rumour had been whispered in the ears of his Majesty's government, that the people of England had lost much of their anxiety on the subject, and when it was industriously represented that the cruelties of slavery were obsolete. Had there been any foundation for such a rumour, or had such representations gained any credit, this pamphlet was singularly calculated to rouse the people from a supineness so unwarranted, and from a delusion so unfounded.

The 23rd of April was the day appointed for bringing forward Lord Althorp's motion. In prospect of this measure a special general meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society was held at Exeter Hall on the 2nd of April, to petition parliament for the immediate and entire abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions; Lord Suffield in the chair. The spacious room at Exeter Hall, which admits more than 3000 persons, was incapable of receiving more than half the number who pressed for admission; nor was the assembly less distinguished for intelligence and respectability than for numbers. These were the characteristics of the assembly in general; and on the platform was congregated an

almost unparalleled number of persons eminent for their political station, public character, or personal talent. Lord Suffield opened the meeting by repeating a sentiment he had before quoted from the venerable friend of emancipation, Mr. Stephen, who on that occasion had filled the chair, but who had since entered into his eternal rest. The sentiment which his lordship adopted, and to which he was resolved pertinaciously to adhere, was—"That slavery is an evil which admits but of one alleviation, namely, limit as to its duration,—and but of one cure, namely, annihilation." Recent events had confirmed this sentiment. The investigations before committees of the two houses of parliament had elicited no evidence that could induce the people of England to think more favourably of the system of slavery, or more patiently to delay the period of emancipation. The conduct of the slaveholders in the colonies, especially in Jamaica, had manifested such a determination to resist, with the utmost infatuation and contumacy, the intellectual, moral, and religious cultivation of their slaves, and the wishes and enactments of a liberal and enlightened government, as proved that the cause must not be left in their hands. Public opinion had been almost unanimously expressed in the late election, by the choice of such representatives as would unhesitatingly pledge themselves to the cause of emancipation; and his majesty's ministers had repeatedly expressed their opinion that emancipation should take place, so soon as it could with safety be accomplished, and had promised to produce a plan which should combine safety and satisfaction to all parties. They were therefore on the very threshold of accomplishing their great

object. The danger to be chiefly apprehended was delay, and all the difficulties in the way might be removed by the people of England. His lordship, therefore, called upon the meeting to listen to and support the resolutions which would be brought forward, with a view to promote the cause.

The first resolution was proposed by Mr. Buxton, who gave a sketch of the progress of the cause during the past year. Alluding to the committee of inquiry in the house of lords, formed at the suggestion of the planters, and which the society had regarded as most adverse to their cause, Mr. B. observed, that it had proved, under Providence, a most important instrument in bringing to light the horrors of colonial slavery, in so convincing a manner, that there were noble lords on that committee, to their honour be it spoken, who entered it with colonial property, and colonial prejudices, but who came out from that committee in the strictest sense of the term abolitionists.

The speaker next alluded to the energy of the people of England in the late election; which, together with the parliamentary examinations, had done much to advance the noble cause. But, he added, there was another set of men who had done infinitely more for its promotion than all the rest put together. He alluded to the energy of the white inhabitants of Jamaica, who had thrown down the gauntlet, defied the power of Great Britain; and, by their solemn oath, had called God to witness, that not a chapel should stand on the island; that no minister of religion should breathe the air, and that not one psalm-singing methodistical negro should live in that land of toleration. Thus, what with the persecutions

abroad, what with the energy and good spirit displayed at home, and what with the facts revealed on oath before the parliamentary committee, the anti-slavery cause had been placed in the most prosperous condition. Mr. Buxton next alluded to the proposed measures of government for effecting emancipation; and appealed to the meeting whether they were not cheerfully ready to make every sacrifice, and endure every burden, that might be involved in the accomplishment of so desirable an end. He did not mean in the way of *grant*, or *compensation* to the slave-holders, no man should ever hear him plead for that; but he hoped there would be no hesitation in meeting the expences necessarily incurred in maintaining order. He also felt for the West Indian proprietors, who had bought and sold their fellow men in defiance of the laws of God, but under the sanction of the laws of their country. He should rejoice, if the same event which brought freedom and happiness to the negro, brought also prosperity and happiness to the planter; and he hoped that the public would not be scrupulous about sustaining burdens, if they clearly saw that those burdens were for the sake of the negro. He wished the people to speak plainly, and say to the government, "Strike the bargain upon sound principles, doing justice to the negro, and it is not an inconsiderable expence that shall deter us from supporting you." Let the government know that it was not money they regarded, but principle; and if some few years hence they should see that their generous efforts had been the means of averting the horrors of a servile war; if they saw slavery abolished, and fair freedom reigning in the colonies; if christianity should spread

there, and bear to the negro a compensation for all his wrongs; if they should see the negroes a contented, a free, a civilized, an enlightened, an industrious, a christian people, he did not think there was an individual who would regret having plainly told the government that it was not on the score of expence they were to be deterred from granting freedom to the slave. The loud and reiterated cheers with which these sentiments were received, sufficiently expressed the concurrence of the meeting. The motion to which they led was this, "That this meeting is deliberately and decidedly of opinion, that the slaves of our British colonies have an undoubted and indefeasible right to their freedom, without delay and without condition; at the same time, this meeting will cheerfully consent, when this debt of justice has been fully paid, to promote such fair measures of relief to the West Indian planters as may be deemed needful by parliament."

This motion was seconded by Mr. J. J. Gurney, of Norwich, who regarded slavery as one of the most prodigious and dangerous evils which ever insinuated itself into the political condition of any country in the world. He rejoiced in the diffusion of right principles on this subject. He was delighted almost beyond measure, when he saw the British public rising up by millions to proclaim their determined adherence to the cause of justice, humanity, and religion. He maintained the unquestionable right of the negro to the total abolition of slavery, without any condition whatever. He was also convinced, on mature deliberation, that there was much more danger to the life and welfare of the negro by delayed, than by immediate eman-

cipation; in fact, that immediate and entire abolition was the only course of safety. Mr. Gurney further spoke the genuine feelings of his heart, when he said, that he deeply sympathized with the West India planters and the white inhabitants of the British colonies. He thought they were in a most fearful and desperate condition, enslaved by a system to which many of them had been introduced, and which they still maintained, not by their own choice, not by any determination of their own, not from thirst of filthy lucre, but by birth, education, and habit,—by circumstances which they could not avoid. He therefore considered it to be the duty of the friends of emancipation, in any measure which might be introduced for that purpose, to guard the persons and the property of the West Indian planters. He, for one, had so little hesitation in paying his share of the expence necessarily attendant on such a measure, that he was ready to subscribe his five hundred pounds for that purpose. This noble-minded individual further said, that if the West Indian body through the government would acknowledge the principles of the society, and admit that the slave had a right to his freedom; and that they, therefore, could not ask for grants of money as a compensation for the act of immutable justice, but asked only that their case might be favourably considered; if they said that they had no claim on the slaves, but that they had a claim on the British nation, on the British government, and asked some financial assistance, asked that they might have a liberal loan, he would, with all his heart, contribute five hundred pounds towards it. He feared he should prove a coward, but he would even try to

submit to a West Indian flogging to get rid of slavery; and, from what he had heard of that, he would not submit to it for ten thousand pounds. He hoped the meeting would act on christian principles throughout. Let them, in the first place, insist on the performance of the eternal rule of right to the slave. Let that be as clear as the noon day. Let the slave have his liberty without delay and without condition; and when this act of justice, humanity, and religion was performed, then let them deal kindly, liberally, and generously with the West Indian planter; and thus their cause would be accomplished to their own satisfaction, to the immense advantage of the slave, to the prosperity and peace of the planter, and to the unutterable benefit of this guilty and degraded nation; degraded, because so deeply involved in the sin of slavery.

The next motion, expressive of the intense anxiety, and yet confident hope, with which the meeting looked forward to the development of the ministerial plans for emancipation, was moved by Earl Fitzwilliam, and seconded by the Rev. J. W. Cunningham. The noble earl alluded with much feeling and interest to the period of his early recollections, when the noble earl (Grey) now at the head of the administration had moved, in the house of commons, that great act of national justice, the abolition of the slave trade. The noble earl had since given the most irrefragable proof that his sentiments had not changed, and that he would crown that act by one still more glorious, by giving freedom to the slave population in the colonial possessions of Great Britain. With respect to compensation, the noble earl did not

think the West Indian planter had any claim, for the negro possessed an unalienable right to his liberty, and also on account of the advantage that would accrue to the master from the employment of free labour. He considered that the lands under free cultivation would be far more valuable than at present. But he believed that the hostility of the planters arose not so much from a fear of pecuniary loss, as from the fear of a change in the relation between themselves and the slaves. It was not the loss of property, but the loss of power that they dreaded, and therefore he laid very little stress on compensation. The views of the friends of emancipation were consistent with the eternal laws of justice, and therefore they must prevail.

Mr. Cunningham justly observed, that in pleading that the slaves should be set free, it was never intended that they should be left at liberty to do as they pleased, right or wrong, but that they should be set as free as God meant them to be, free citizens of the state, good subjects, honest men, diligent labourers; and, if they were disposed to neglect their duties, that proper means should be employed to compel them to discharge them. Mr. C. placed his hopes of success in the cause in which they were engaged, on the manly integrity, consistent firmness, and enlarged benevolence of Earl Grey and his colleagues in office, who had given proof to the country that they were just, true, and honest men. He calculated on their talents, their principles, and their conviction of the importance of having the voice of public opinion with them, which, next to the blessing of God, was the great buttress on which their popularity rested.

The measure promised was to be "safe and satisfactory;" as to safety, the speaker observed, safety consists in doing what is right, and ruin would follow doing what is wrong. Let the meeting, then, do their duty, and leave the consequences to the Almighty.

In the third resolution, the meeting, expressing its conviction that immediate and complete abolition was not only demanded by the solemn obligations of religion and justice, but was also most consistent with sound policy, and most promotive of the happiness of the slave colonies, and the safety of all parties, strongly deprecated any partial, or imperfect, or protracted plan, as likely to fail in its object, and to prove highly mischievous in its results. In proposing this motion, Lord Morpeth made an animated speech, in which he observed that slavery was in itself a hateful and a deadly system; to its victims, a state of bodily suffering and mental darkness—to its administrators, a state of impaired morality and temporal loss. His lordship was not indifferent to the circumstances of embarrassment and distress which had recently involved a large proportion of West India proprietors. That, and other kindred topics, might form a proper subject for the separate and subsequent consideration of government. All that was to be said to the colonists at present was, "You shall not, either in the tenacious hold of your property, as may be natural, or in the convulsive grasp of your distress, as may be inevitable, you shall not be permitted to clench the chain or to gag the gospel." The word of God was bequeathed to all nations. Religious liberty is the boast, the practice, and the law of England; but the boast was

reversed, the law was inverted, and the law trampled on, by the colonial assemblies and church unions. His lordship urged that no unnecessary acrimony should be displayed by the advocates of the cause, nor even triumph be marked by vindictive exultation; but that the work of Heaven should be done in the spirit of Heaven. He observed that it would be much safer for this question to be settled by the calm and deliberate decisions of Britain, than that it should be committed to the wild retribution of those who had been its victims, to be worked out by them in every form and shape of horror. His lordship concluded by observing, that common as were their sympathies with the negro, and their patriotic aspirations for the glory and honour of their country in the work of mercy, so common should be their prayers to the Almighty, that he would allow, direct, and hallow their weak but sincere endeavours to break off the chains and to wipe away the tears of mankind. The motion was seconded by Mr. G. Strickland, M.P., who lamented the long delay that had been permitted in reinstating the injured negro in his rights; and expressed his firm persuasion that the time was near at hand when the chain would be broken from the arm of the slave.

The Rev. J. Burnet moved that petitions, founded on the foregoing resolutions, be presented to both houses of parliament. Without this measure, all the principles that had been submitted to the meeting, and all the expressions of applause with which they had been received, would be in vain. These sentiments must be embodied in petitions, and carried to the bar of the legislature; and the noblemen and gentlemen who had been sent to

parliament by the spirit of an enlightened, and liberal, and generous constituency, must thus be supported by the voice of the people. The necessity of petitioning, from the tardiness which had hitherto characterized all movements on this question, from the dreadful waste of human life going on, while the contemplated relief was delayed, and from the danger to all parties from any longer delay, was evident. It was a question with him, whether the chains were not so worn, that before they could get even the measure they were seeking, they would snap of themselves. He alluded to the dreadful scenes of St. Domingo, when an attempt was made by the French to reduce the inhabitants to a state of bondage. Such a desperate resistance was made, as compelled mighty France to declare the independency of the island. This might well serve as a beacon to Jamaica.

As to compensation, Mr. Burnet considered (in common with many others) that West Indian proprietors had no claim, except to *compensation in kind,* which they would not be very ready to accept. The West Indian interests were, however, as worthy of attention as any other; and if any commercial interest was sinking, the friends of this country were bound to come forward and extend their help, not merely out of pity to the individuals afflicted, but from regard to the general weal. The time was now come when the question must not only be looked at, and measured, and discussed, but acted on. We had an enlightened administration, with free access to a king disposed to listen to them; we had a new constituency and a new parliament; and now was the time to sweep away the nuisance of this abominable system.

The motion was seconded by H. Pownall, Esq., who read the petition, and urged the vast importance of the present moment in prosecuting the noble cause. As to compensation, he deprecated the admission even of a phrase that could seem to imply that man might hold property in man, and be injured by the reversion of him to his unalienable right of freedom. At the same time he was willing, when the just demand for the extinction of slavery was conceded, to indemnify the West Indian body for any loss they might prove to have sustained in the accomplishment of so great an act of justice.

Mr. George Stephen (son of the late venerable advocate of the negro's cause) came forward, at the request of Mr. Buxton, to say a few words on the proposed petition. If it was inferred by any expression which had been that day used that compensation was conceded, it was unquestionably an error,—the Society scouted the very idea.—Compensation! No—they would not become the buyers of human flesh, nor the mortgagees of cart-whips! He believed that the measure of emancipation about to be carried would not in its operation work injury to the West Indian body; but if it should have that effect, he would cheerfully be one among the first to advocate their cause, when injury was proved to have resulted. But then they must come forward and petition for relief; they must act as the abolitionists had done—present petition after petition—and if their cause was just, their petitions would doubtless meet with deserved attention and final success. If government was desirous of knowing what measure the country would consider as "safe and satisfactory," and

redeeming the pledge given in these terms, he would say, it must be like the measure of reform just granted to the people of England—ample, unqualified, and complete; it must wash away every stain of blood from the negro's skirt; it must sever the last link of that chain which manacled his limbs; and it must, above all, leave him the full unqualified enjoyment of that dearest of all rights possessed by Englishmen, the right of worshipping at the altar of his God, when, and where, and as his own conscience should prescribe.

Lord Milton proposed, and Mr. W. Smith seconded, a vote of thanks to the noble chairman. Dr. Lushington gave a merited testimony to the valuable services of the noble lord, who had long, in the house of lords, stood utterly unsupported, to encounter, not merely the opposition of those who had an interest in the question of the manumission of slaves and the abolition of slavery—not merely to hoist the standard of truth against the fallacy and sophistry of his opponents—but also against that which the boldest heart and greatest mind had frequently quailed under, ridicule and scorn. Under the most fearful of all ordeals, the noble lord had firmly discharged his duty, and produced * that evidence which had opened the public eye. Dr. Lushington exhorted the assembly to depart like men determined never to lose sight of the object; and placing no implicit confidence in man, let them send petitions from every part, and say to the legislature, We leave you to the particular mode of effecting the object, but the object we *will*

* As an active member of the Committee of Inquiry (see p. 469).

have; and if you will honestly and fairly perform your duty, we will stand by you till it is done.

A still more important meeting was held in the same Hall a few days afterwards. So anxious were the friends of abolition that the real sentiments of the people on the subject should be conveyed to government, in language and manner that could neither be overlooked nor misunderstood, that it was resolved to convene together delegates from all parts of the United Kingdom, who should be authorized to convey to the meeting and to the government the sentiments of those whom they represented. Accordingly, on the 18th of April, 369 gentlemen of every profession, and from every part of England, Scotland, and Ireland, assembled in Exeter Hall. The chair was filled by Samuel Gurney, Esq., a member of the society of Friends. The meeting was unanimous in this resolution, that slavery must and should be exterminated; and a memorial to that effect was signed by the delegates, and next day presented to Earl Grey. More than 300 of the delegates attended at the house of Earl Grey to present the memorial, which was read by Mr. Gurney. The deputation had an audience with Lord Althorp and Mr. Stanley (who was then recently appointed secretary of state for the colonial department). Both these ministers expressed their astonishment at the scene they witnessed; and Mr. Stanley declared his resolution to give his immediate and best attention to the subject of colonial slavery, especially as he was so impressed with the memorial of so respectable, conscientious, and religious body of gentlemen as the present. As this measure seems to have been of important service, under the Divine blessing, in

bringing matters to the long-desired crisis, it may be desirable to present to the reader the resolutions and memorial at length.

Resolutions.

"On behalf of ourselves and those who have selected us to attend in London, for the purpose of expressing their opinions and wishes on the subject of negro slavery, we, in humble reliance on the blessing of God upon our exertions, and acknowledging his providence in assembling us upon this great occasion, declare our assent to the following propositions, as truly representing the objects we desire to see accomplished, and the principles on which we think any plan for emancipation should be founded.

"1. That all persons detained in slavery, in any part of his majesty's dominions, ought forthwith to be emancipated. Any restraint, extending to the whole community, deemed necessary by way of police regulation, we do not deem inconsistent with this principle; but we deprecate all delay, or partial emancipation; first, as a continuance of injustice, and secondly, because it is our conviction that emancipation may be at once safely effected, and the greatest danger of bloodshed and confusion will arise from deferring it.

"2. That as the negro race have already suffered the grossest injustice, from detention in a state of slavery, we declare our decided disapprobation of any plan whereby they, by their labour or otherwise, may be compelled to pay, in whole or in part, for that emancipation which we deem to be their right, by the law of God, and by the clearest principles of justice.

"3. That as the government may deem it neces-

sary, with a view to immediate emancipation, to incur the expenses of an increased and efficient police establishment, for the preservation of peace and tranquillity, the country will cheerfully consent to bear such expenses.

"4. That when the debt of justice which is due to the negro shall have been fully paid by immediate emancipation, the country will cheerfully consent to promote such fair measures of relief to the West Indian planters as may be deemed needful by parliament; leaving to the discretion of his majesty's government, the consideration of such cases of distress as may be proved to result from the measure.

"5. That the opinions expressed in these propositions are entertained by a very large proportion of the people of this kingdom, whose abhorrence of the guilt, iniquity, and cruelty of the system is such, that they will, in dependence on the Divine blessing, resolutely persevere in all legitimate exertion, until slavery shall cease for ever in every land over which the government of Great Britain exercises dominion.

(Signed) SAMUEL GURNEY,
Chairman of the meeting."

Memorial to the Right Honourable the Earl Grey, K. G., &c. &c. &c.

"MY LORD,—We are deputed by the friends to the immediate and entire abolition of British colonial slavery, residing in all parts of Great Britain and Ireland, to lay before your lordship and the government, the decided feeling of the country on this most critical and interesting subject.

"We assure your lordship, that so far from there being any re-action in the public mind in regard to this great question, a sense of the folly and wickedness of colonial slavery, and of the necessity of its immediate extinction, is spreading on every side, and is firmly rooted in the conscientious feelings of a christian nation. Colonial slavery is no longer a subject enveloped in doubt. Evidence the most conclusive and the most appalling has been poured upon the public mind, and the nation has formed its judgment, not from any questionable reports, but from official documents, proceeding from the colonists themselves, and published by the order of parliament.

"We have only to remind your lordship of some of the leading features of the evidence in question. The population returns show an enormous decrease in the number of slaves in the British colonies, under a climate suited to their nature, and in which, when freed from slavery, the same race is found to increase with astonishing rapidity. This result affords an unanswerable proof that the system of slavery in our sugar colonies is one of hard oppression and of *daily murder*.

"Equally desperate is the moral condition both of the black and white population of our slave colonies. A condition which arises out of slavery is, as a natural consequence, one of unbridled licentiousness; utterly opposed, not only to christian purity, but to the most common and familiar dictates of order and decency. For such a state of society we are firmly convinced that there is but one remedy,—we mean the total and immediate extinction of slavery.

"But to insist on a still higher branch of the subject: for a proof too strong to be resisted, and too conspicuous to be concealed, that slavery and christianity are absolutely incompatible, we refer your lordship to the shameless persecution of the ministers of religion,—to the savage clamour of colonial unions,—to the destruction of places of public worship by the hands of those very men to whom is entrusted the good order of society. If christianity is to be maintained and promoted, slavery must cease.

"Lastly, we cannot but feel that another remarkable evidence of the evil effects of slavery, is to be found in the obstinate resistance of the slaveholders in the colonies to the wishes, the advice, and the commands of a paternal government. Men, whose chief desire seems to be the maintenance of their own arbitrary power over their fellow-creatures, are the first to rebel against the good order of their country, to trample on the sanctions of British law, to revolt against the rightful authority of their sovereign, and openly to insult his lawful representative.

"Such being the distinguishing features of British colonial slavery, that christian public by whom we are now deputed, hail with delight the promise made to them by his majesty's government, that they will shortly submit to parliament a 'safe and satisfactory' measure for effecting the final abolition of the system. We beg leave to express our warmest gratitude to his majesty and his government for this heart-cheering promise. At the same time we feel it to be our duty respectfully to submit to his majesty's ministers, the deliberate conviction of the friends of the cause, in every part of the

United Kingdom, that, in order to be 'safe and satisfactory,' the abolition of slavery must be, in the first place, *total;* in the second place, *immediate;* and in the third place, *peaceable.*

"By the total abolition of slavery, we mean the absolute and final abandonment of the notion, that any man can possess a property in his fellow-man —*can* have any right to buy, sell, or mortgage him, or to compel him to work, without remunerating him for his labour.

"We entreat his majesty's ministers not to contemplate any imperfect measure of emancipation: we are deeply convinced that the negro must be fully restored to his rights, and that no scheme of emancipation which would leave him half a slave and half a freeman, would tend materially either to his own benefit, or to the tranquillity of the colonies.

"We respectfully insist on the necessity of a full and absolute change, from the irresponsible rule of the slave-holder, to the responsible authority of a lawful government,—from a state of society in which labour is compelled by the whip, to one in which it shall have its appropriate stimulus of adequate wages.

"With regard to the period when this change shall take place, it is the settled conviction of the friends of abolition, that it ought to be *immediate.* The utter vanity of all attempts to ameliorate the system, in order to its final extinction, has been clearly proved by the history of the question during the last ten years. We assert that the system is, in its nature, incapable of amelioration. The root of it is iniquity, and its fruit can never fail to be bitterness.

"A British public, forming its decision on the eternal principles of justice and religion, is unalterably fixed in its judgment, that the slaves in our colonies have an indefeasible right to their freedom without delay, and that this is the only 'safe and satisfactory' ground of legislation on the subject.

"The question may be encompassed with difficulties, but the evidence laid before the late committees of the lords and commons affords irresistible proof that the danger is in delay. Delay will, in our judgment, inevitably produce *misery* to the *slave*, *destruction* to the *planter*, and *ruin* to the *colonies*. As soon as the necessary measures of precaution can be carried into effect, so soon, in our opinion, ought the slaves in our colonies to be raised from their present debased condition, as mere chattels, to that of men in possession of themselves, the free subjects of the British empire. While we consider it our bounden duty thus openly to declare our views, we assure his majesty's government that we are not insensible of that weight of responsibility which cannot fail to press heavily upon them in reference to this momentous question; and we heartily unite in that fervent desire, which his majesty's government must assuredly feel, that the abolition of slavery may be a *peaceable* event; but, in order to be *peaceable*, it must be *total* and *immediate*. It is dangerous to tamper with the principle, or to interpose unnecessary delay in carrying that principle into effect; but we are fully aware that, in effecting so great a change in the constitution of colonial society, precautionary measures will be absolutely needful: while we would, without delay, break the bonds of slavery, we would adopt every

practicable expedient, consistent with that measure, to induce the negro to persevere in habits of subordination and industry: we feel the utmost reliance on his willingness to do his duty in labouring, but we claim for him the benefit of equal laws, an impartial magistracy, and an efficient police.

"Your lordship may rest assured that a British public will be prepared to defray those inevitable expenses which these regulations will entail. With the prospect before us of being speedily relieved from that weight of taxation which slavery now imposes upon us, both directly and indirectly, the country will not complain of that far lighter and merely temporary burden which must arise from its abolition.

"We can assure his majesty's government that neither we, nor the persons who have deputed us, entertain any hostile feelings towards the planters. When we reflect on the calamities which have ensued from this unrighteous system, we feel that they will not appeal in vain to the kindness and liberality of their fellow-countrymen; and sincerely would we rejoice if they were even now so alive to their true interests, as actively to co-operate in the measures proposed. Firmly indeed are we convinced that the planters, in the end, will be benefited by a radical change. One of the curses of slavery is the temporary ruin of those who are concerned in it. Remove the origin of the mischief, and a state of prosperity will follow.

"We repose on the discretion of his majesty's government, in reference to this most important branch of the subject. If the debt of immutable justice be paid in full to the injured slave, a

humane and considerate people will readily concur in all such reasonable measures for the relief of the planter, or of individual cases of distress, as may meet with the approbation of the British parliament.

"To the care of his majesty's ministers we commit this righteous cause; fully persuaded that your lordship, and the government over which you preside, will not disappoint the just expectations of an united and enlightened nation.

"With ardent hope and joy do we look forward to a day, *which cannot be far distant*, when, under the blessing of Divine Providence, and, we trust, through the timely efforts of the present government, Great Britain will be for ever delivered from the guilt and curse of slavery, and when all her subjects, both at home and abroad, will enjoy the benefit of equal and unshackled freedom.

"In conclusion, we feel it to be our duty, in the faithful discharge of that trust which has been confided to us, solemnly to inform your lordship of our inflexible determination to prosecute our holy object until our exertions are crowned with entire success. While the enormities of slavery appeared to rest upon controverted testimony, and its political evils only were conspicuously forced upon attention, we felt, in common with all not personally interested in the discussion, that the slow but certain progress of information in this age of inquiry would eventually develope the truth, and insure that relief which the legislature is bound to administer to every class of British subjects; we shared the general conviction that the controversy involved the ultimate safety of our colonies and the deepest interests of the state; but these

considerations alone did not appear sufficient to call for any extraordinary expression of public opinion. The parliamentary investigation of the past year, and the recent occurrences in Jamaica, have, however, awakened not only our sympathy, but our conscience. We now feel that the subject involves, not only the interests and the safety of the community, but the great question of religious liberty, and the progress of christianity in the colonies. Slavery and christianity cannot co-exist.

"It is therefore that we feel bound, publicly and emphatically to declare, that while slavery obtains, under any form, however modified, or however sanctioned, we will never relax from our efforts, nor swerve from our purpose, to exert that influence which we may collectively or individually possess, to effect, by all legitimate means, its immediate and entire abolition.

(Signed) SAMUEL GURNEY, *Chairman.*

And by a deputation of 239 gentlemen from the several counties of England, and from Ireland, Scotland, and Wales."

On May 14th Mr. Stanley brought forward his plan of emancipation. His speech was long, powerful, and eloquent, characterised by an honest and able exposure of the incurable evils of slavery, and by a bold and manly pledge for its final extinction. But the proposed measure was clogged with weighty objections. It provided that slavery should be immediately abolished; but the slaves were to be apprenticed for twelve years; three-fourths of this time being employed for their masters, in return for their present allowance of food and clothing; the remaining fourth part was to be

their own, for which they should receive wages; having the right either to *claim* employment of their masters, or to engage themselves with any other master, as they thought fit. The irresponsible power of the masters was to be abolished, and corporeal punishment could be inflicted only by the sentence of the magistrate. To compensate the proprietors, a loan of £15,000,000 was proposed, which was to be paid out of a portion of the negroes' earnings.

The objections to these conditions were clearly stated in an able speech by Lord Howick; and as it seemed to be the general conviction of the house that the plan would be far from satisfactory to any of the parties concerned, further discussion was postponed to the 30th. A considerable degree of disappointment at first prevailed through the country, that any delay should have occurred, at the moment when they were eagerly anticipating the accomplishment of their wishes and the crown of their exertions. However, it appeared in the end that the delay was overruled for good, in affording time for free intercourse between the people and their parliamentary representatives, and in inspiring his majesty's ministers with additional confidence that they would be supported and carried through the fullest proposals they might bring forward. The deputations already mentioned (p. 491) remained in town, anxiously watching the progress of affairs, and corresponding with their respective constituents. In concurrence with them and the anti-slavery committees in London, who met three days after the developement of Mr. Stanley's plan, a series of remarks were published, expressed with the plainness, fidelity, and moderation which

became such a meeting, and calculated to convey to the government, the parliament, and the public, a just estimate of the value and tendency of the measures developed. Having expressed their gratitude to his majesty's government for the benevolent principles which had dictated the measure, they proceed to deplore and enumerate those objections which must prevent the cordial concurrence and co-operation of the friends of the enslaved negro, unless they should be happily removed by essential alterations in the plan. The objections specified are:—

"1. That throughout the whole plan an unrighteous control is claimed over the slave, as if man may be justly and legally dealt with as the property of his fellow man.

"2. The great and intolerable injustice is also involved in it of compelling the slave to pay the price of his enfranchisement; a principle directly at variance with those rights of the negro which are now officially acknowledged by his majesty's government.

"3. This complicated and pernicious system of long apprenticeships is a totally inefficient substitute for the only legitimate stimulus to effective labour; namely, adequate wages. It is unreasonable to assume, that the negro can comprehend, and be adequately affected by the operation of the complex, remote, and uncertain benefits to be thus attained, and yet that he should not powerfully feel the direct and immediate force of the more effective stimulus of adequate wages. Idleness and inaction would infallibly be produced by so distant and doubtful a return, while growing habits of industry and persevering exertion would as cer-

tainly be induced by the immediate payment of a fair remuneration for his labour.

"4. Under the proposed plan the only real stimulus to labour would still continue to be the brutal, degrading, and demoralizing application of corporal punishment, instead of the powerful influence of the stimulants of want and wages.

"5. No precise time is fixed by this plan for the final cessation of slavery, which may still be prolonged under its provisions for twelve years, and even for a still more distant period. And yet let it not be forgotten that colonial slavery has been recognised as a crime by the government, and the parliament, and the nation at large, and therefore that its protraction ought not to be tolerated.

"6. The fathers, and even the mothers of families, whose whole time is already appropriated by the government plan, either to the master's service, or to working out their own redemption, are compelled to maintain their infant children, or to see them doomed, after having been declared absolutely free, to servitude, for a long term of fourteen or eighteen years; a course which is not only impolitic, but cruel and unjust.

"7. The total inadequacy of the means provided for the subsistence of the labourer and his infant family, is proved by the miserable insufficiency of the legal provisions of the existing colonial slave codes.

"8. To refer to the colonial assemblies the task of providing the means for promoting industry, preventing vagrancy, &c., among the emancipated slaves, after the experience, so feelingly deplored by the colonial secretary himself, of their total unfitness to legislate beneficially for their

bondmen, implies a most unwarranted confidence in those bodies; and still more unreasonable would it be that measures for the due administration of justice, and for a general system of religious and moral education, should in any degree be connected with or made to depend upon colonial legislation, or even upon colonial recommendation. The christian people of this land will not consent that those should be entrusted with the high and sacred functions here assigned to them, the hostility of many of whom to religion is avowed and notorious—by whom so many of the places of worship have been uprooted from their foundations—the faithful ministers of the gospel outraged, persecuted, and exiled—and their followers among the slaves lacerated, tortured, and slain."

The general conviction among the friends of the negro seemed to be, that the apprenticeship clause was wholly objectionable; that there was no alternative between the constrained labour of a slave and the voluntary labour of a free man, stimulated by fair remuneration. This sentiment was ably and seasonably illustrated in a familiar pamphlet, entitled, "Wages or the Whips," by Josiah Conder, Esq.; and although the idea was not fully acted upon in the plan ultimately adopted for the abolition of slavery, recent experience has served to confirm its truth; and it will probably be found the wisdom of the colonists to adopt it, though not absolutely compelled to do so.

About this time an interesting and detailed "Narrative of recent Events in Jamaica, comprising a Sketch of the Mission from its Commencement," was published in Jamaica, by the baptist missionaries, and imported into England.

In a review of this most affecting narrative, it was justly observed, that the sufferings of the yet enslaved negroes, the destruction of their chapels, the persecution of their missionaries, and the suspension of their religious privileges, called upon the people of England to remember the oppressed captive, and not to suffer their sympathy to evaporate in sighs, tears, and words. "That God is at work, and at work in the British parliament too, (says the reviewer,) is too evident to be denied: and why should we incur the guilt of Meroz, who came not to the help of the Lord—to the help of the Lord against the mighty?—That He can work out their deliverance without our instrumentality, is not a moment to be doubted; but is this his *usual* mode of operation?—Did He not accept of human agency—of the services of some even in the present cabinet, in the abolition of that abominable trade, of which the present state of things is the consequence? Then away with fanaticism, and away with indolence. Let preachers preach, let writers write, let parents talk, let christians pray, and let every man and woman who would not be a slave, petition against slavery."

It was interesting, at this period, to receive accounts of the state of feeling in the colonies themselves, on the momentous question of emancipation. The conviction seemed generally to prevail that it could not be long delayed. Some slave proprietors, or rather slave overseers, were infatuated enough to pursue their course of oppression and persecution, as if from a presentiment that their reign was near its close. Some were calculating upon the largest amount of compensation that they could possibly make out; and, taking

it for granted that emancipated slaves would not work, and that plantations, and sugar-houses, and all the machinery and implements employed in the process, would be rendered useless, they demanded payment for the whole. The more enlightened part of the West Indian community took a more rational view of the subject. That it was neither possible nor desirable any longer to delay the great act of justice, they were fully convinced. They justly argued, that the agitation of the question, which would never cease so long as slavery existed, would keep the slaves in a state of constant irritation, and thus render property connected with them every day less secure and valuable; as also, that the improving intelligence of the negroes, combined with their increased desire after freedom, and in many instances unrestrained by religious principle, would in all probability lead them to seek their freedom by violence, if it were much longer withheld from them. It was, however, strongly contended that the possessors of slaves had a claim for just compensation, not on the slaves, but on the British nation, who had sanctioned the bondage, and who now demanded their freedom. "For the *slaves* they must be paid, but *only* for the slaves. The demand on their side, to be paid for houses and land, is a piece of unreasonableness, which may serve as a 'set-off' against that of their opponents, who say they are not entitled to be paid for any thing." Such was the language of one of the most liberal and spirited publications in Jamaica. The article closes by urging the following immediate and simultaneous enactments, as essential to the preservation of the colonies:—1st. The immediate

and complete emancipation of the slaves. 2nd. The compensation of the owners. 3rd. The government of the newly-freed labourers, and the provision of a stipendiary magistracy.

On the 4th of June, a petition from the West Indian interest was presented to the house of lords, by Earl St. Vincent, praying for the protection of their property. They stated that they had no wish to throw any unnecessary obstacles in the way of emancipation, provided their interests in this description of property were duly considered. A discussion ensued, in which all agreed as to the necessity of emancipation, but differed in details, chiefly on the point of compensation. This was a great concession, for *all* the lords to have advanced so far as to admit the necessity of emancipation; but the light of noon-day will obtrude upon the repose of late slumberers, notwithstanding all the artificial aid of blinds, curtains, &c., to keep it out.

The bill was still lying on the table of the house of commons, when another meeting of the friends of emancipation was held, July 20; the chair occupied by Lord Suffield, and afterwards by William Smith, Esq., whose indefatigable exertions in the cause had been maintained through half a century. The object of this meeting was to protest against the proposed apprenticeship of the slaves for twelve years, and of children for even a longer period; which they considered as only a modified state of slavery, and exceedingly likely to excite insurrection and bloodshed. They strongly objected, also, to any part of the earnings of the emancipated negro being taken in payment for his freedom, to which he was justly entitled,

without delay and without price. They deprecated, also, any legislative power in reference to the labouring classes being intrusted to the colonial assemblies, independently of the British parliament. Again they protested against the grant, (now raised from £15,000,000, originally proposed, to £20,000,000,) but pledged themselves cheerfully to promote such fair measures of relief as might seem to parliament necessary to redress any injuries which might prove to have resulted to others from justice to the negro. The sentiments of the meeting were strongly expressed; and from the variance between the measures proposed, with the principles of the memorial presented to ministers by the delegates, it was judged advisable forthwith to summon those gentlemen to London, to support, by every effort in their power, the great principles to which, in that document, they had so solemnly pledged themselves.

The strongest efforts were employed by the abolitionists generally, in order to induce government to give up what appeared to them an objectionable and complicated plan, and to substitute the simple expedient of wages in return for efficient labour, under the superintendence of an independent magistracy and a vigilant police. The apprenticeship clause, and that of labour from the negro as the price of his freedom, were the points on which the struggle in parliament mainly turned; and so strong was the feeling expressed, both within and without its walls, of the hardship, injustice, and impolicy of these measures, that though government would not consent entirely to abandon the apprenticeship system, it was agreed to give up half the proba-

tionary term, and that in the case of predial or field-slaves, six years should be the limit of apprenticeship, instead of twelve, and four years in other cases, viz., of domestic slaves, &c.; also that the slave was to pay no part of his redemption, but the public were to grant to the planters a compensation of £20,000,000. Mr. Buxton made an effort (July 31) to defer one-half of the payment till the expiration of the apprenticeship, but his motion was negatived by 144 to 93.

The venerable Wilberforce was spared to witness the security, though not the formal accomplishment, of the great object on which his heart was set. The abolition of slavery was certain, it had triumphed over, and outlived opposition; there remained only the adjustment of a few details, and the formal official passing of the measure into law. Wilberforce knew that slavery was to be extinguished, and that the public had consented to give £20,000,000 for the redemption of slaves. The lamp of life was flickering in the socket, but it was for a moment re-illumined by the joy of such a triumph. The clear-minded emancipationist regretted, indeed, that the measure should be clogged by any delay, or by any compensation, which he uniformly considered ought not to have been granted; "but," said he, "the measure itself is secure, slavery is got rid of—that is the grand thing; never mind the money. Oh, to think that I should live to see the day when my country would be willing to give £20,000,000 to get rid of slavery!" On the 29th of July this distinguished philanthropist and eminent christian entered on his eternal rest, about the moment when the most important clause of the emancipation bill was

carried. "The principles which had guided his public conduct and adorned his private life sustained him through a protracted illness, and shed a mild and christian lustre over the closing scenes of his life. Amidst his increasing infirmities, the 'inward man' was renewed day by day. So abundant were his consolations, that he himself remarked, 'The last year has been the happiest of my life.' A short time before his decease, a friend having said, on his recovery from a severe attack, 'I hope, sir, you will feel better soon,' he replied, 'I am quite prepared for the worst.' He then asked for 'Baxter's Dying Thoughts,' and read them. In the course of the last month of his life, a friend was speaking to him of his prospect of heaven, when he observed, 'As for me, I have nothing to say but the publican's plea, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.'' On the Friday preceding his death, hopes were entertained by his sorrowing relatives, that he might yet be spared a little longer; but more threatening symptoms appeared on Saturday, and, on the Monday following, July 29th, this excellent man departed from the scene of his labours, to enter into the joy of his Lord.

"His funeral was intended to be strictly private; but the following requisition, equally honourable to Mr. Wilberforce and to the age in which he lived, induced his family to alter their arrangements:—

"'We, the undersigned members of both houses of parliament, being anxious, upon public grounds, to shew respect for the memory of the late WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, and being also satisfied that public honours can never be more fitly bestowed than upon such benefactors of mankind, earnestly request that he may be buried in Westminster Abbey, and that we, and those who agree with us in sentiment, may have permission to attend his funeral.'

"To this requisition were affixed the signatures—William Frederick, (Duke of Gloucester,) Brougham, Eldon, Lansdowne, Wellesley, Grey, W. Cantuar. (Archbishop of Canterbury,) Ripon, Wellington, Harrowby, and of twenty-seven other peers; and those of upwards of ninety members of the house of commons; and this on a short notice, and at a late period of the session.

"The funeral took place in the manner thus proposed, on Saturday, August 3d. 'The peers, amounting to a considerable number, all dressed in deep black, having put on scarves and hat-bands, proceeded from the Jerusalem chamber of the house of lords into the Abbey, entering at the Poets' Corner; while the members of the house of commons, numbering between one and two hundred, in full mourning, proceeded two abreast to the west door of the Abbey, by which they entered. It was very gratifying to see the royalty, the high station, the rank and greatest talent of the country, become the pall-bearers of a virtuous citizen; which was at once a compliment to the memory of the man, a credit to their own hearts and understandings, and an honour to the people of this great country. The grave was formed close to the tombs of Canning, Fox, and Pitt: and, while the most solemn part of the funeral service was read, their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Sussex and Gloucester, the Duke of Wellington, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Chichester, and the various other bishops, the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the other pall-bearers, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Rosslyn, Lord Althorp, Lord Auckland, &c. formed a circle round the grave.' "

The closing scene of the career of Wilberforce can scarcely be regarded as a digression from that question with which his life had been identified, who was indeed the father of the cause in parliament.

The Abolition Bill was read in the house of commons the third time on August 7. In that late stage of the business one important addition to the religious privileges of the apprenticed labourer was secured at the suggestion of Mr. Wilks; viz., the free use of the christian sabbath. The bill thus passed the commons—it rapidly proceeded in the house of lords, having been read the third time, and passed on the 20th of the same month; and on the 28th it received the royal assent. The day following the king went in person to prorogue parliament, and in his speech touched with evident approbation and satisfaction on this noble act of national justice, the magna charta of negro freedom, which will be recorded to posterity as casting over the reign of our beloved sovereign incomparably brighter lustre than victories like those of Cressy, or Blenheim, or Waterloo. Those triumphs were achieved amid the din of trumpets, and the clangour of arms, and garments rolled in the blood of a brother, but the glories of this triumph are untarnished with blood, unaccompanied by misery; they resemble those of the Prince of peace:—

> "Blessings abound where'er he reigns,
> The prisoner leaps to lose his chains,
> The weary find eternal rest,
> And all the sons of want are bless'd."

William the Fourth ascended the throne of Britain as the monarch of slaves; whenever—and may it be at a distant period, and when many more noble deeds of peace and mercy shall have adorned

his reign, and claimed for him the veneration and gratitude of posterity !—whenever he shall descend from his high elevation, he will leave to his successor the monarchy of a free people; for among all the millions of his subjects there shall not be found a slave.

It would be uninteresting to the reader to peruse all the details of the bill; a tolerably correct idea of its important provisions on behalf of the oppressed negro may be gathered from the following statements:—

The act provides for the entire extinction of slavery in the British colonies on the 1st of August, 1834. From that day slavery becomes altogether illegal; it is to be no longer protected nor recognized by law; it is denounced, proscribed, and abolished for ever throughout all the dominions that bear the British sway.

All field labourers above the age of six years pass into the state of apprenticed labourers for six years, to terminate August 1, 1840.

All domestic labourers pass into the state of apprenticeship for four years, to terminate August 1, 1838.

All children under six years of age on August 1, 1834, are exempted from the necessity of becoming apprentices if their parents or relations fulfil the duty of maintaining them till they are able to maintain themselves. In such case they become free to all intents and purposes.

All children born on or after August 1, 1834, to be absolutely and altogether free.

In case of children under six years old, on August 1, 1834, or infants born to apprenticed labourers after that period, not being provided with

adequate maintenance by their parents, a justice of the peace, to whom the fact must be satisfactorily proved, is to bind the child as an apprenticed labourer to the person or persons entitled to the services of the mother, for a term by no means exceeding the time of attaining the age of twenty-one years, the employer being expressly obliged to allow reasonable time and opportunity for the education and religious instruction of such children.

Persons entitled to the services of apprenticed labourers, and disposed to discharge them from their apprenticeship, may do so by giving a proper instrument of discharge, provided that the person so discharged is not above the age of fifty, nor is labouring under any mental or bodily disease or disability which would disqualify him or her for earning a subsistence; otherwise the owner is liable to provide for the support and maintenance of the apprentice as fully as if no such discharge had been given.

All apprenticed labourers are at liberty to purchase their discharge from apprenticeship on paying the appraised value of their services for the remainder of the time, even without the consent, or in opposition, if necessary, to the will of their masters.

Those who have been employed as domestic labourers must not be compelled to work as field labourers, or in the manufacture of colonial produce.

No labourer can be compelled to work for his employer more than forty-five hours in a week; that is, four days of ten hours each, and half a day of five hours, leaving one day and a half, beside the sabbath, entirely at his own disposal. For any

part of this time which the labourer voluntarily consents to employ in the service of his master, he is entitled to settled wages.

No labourer can be removed from the colony to which he or she may belong: nor even to another estate upon the same colony, without the express written consent of two justices of the peace, who are bound first to ascertain that the removal can be in no wise prejudicial to the health or welfare of the negro, and that it does not involve the separation of families or near relatives.

During the continuance of apprenticeship the employer is required to supply food, clothing, lodging, medicine, medical attendance, and such other maintenance and allowance as had heretofore been secured by law to slaves according to their sex and age. In case the food is not supplied by the delivery of provisions, but by the cultivation of provision grounds, the employer is required to provide ground adequate both in quantity and quality, and within a reasonable distance of the residence of the negro, and an adequate portion of time for its cultivation is to be allowed out of the forty-five hours of weekly labour.

No apprenticed labourer can be compelled to labour on Sundays, except in works of necessity, or in domestic service, or in the protection of property, or tending of cattle; nor can they be prevented attending anywhere on Sundays for religious worship, at their own free will and pleasure, without any let, denial, or interruption whatever.

The fullest toleration and protection is granted to the ministers of religion, of whatever denomination, exactly on the same footing and on the same security as is enjoyed in England. The colonial

assemblies and magistrates are deprived of all authority and interference on this subject, the matter being confided solely to special justices sent out from this country, remunerated by, and responsible to, his majesty's government.

The corporeal punishment of females is wholly abolished, nor can any kind of punishment be inflicted on an apprenticed labourer for any alleged offence against his employer, except by the authority of the special justices of the peace.

An apprenticed labourer having wilfully deserted the service of an employer, is liable to render satisfaction for the loss of service by labouring an equal time, either during or at the close of apprenticeship; the extra labour not exceeding fifteen additional hours in any one week, nor extending after the expiration of seven years.

On reviewing these transactions, and contemplating the present state of things, the almost overwhelming, certainly by far the predominant, feeling, "is that of exultation and of the deepest gratitude to the Great Disposer of all events, who has put it into the hearts of the rulers and people of this nation to send forth the irresistible decree that the crime of slavery should cease throughout the dominions of the British crown."

Nor ought we greatly to regret or grudge the price paid for its final extinction; we would say with the dying Wilberforce, "Never mind the money, since the measure is secured." We would with him even exult in the thought that Britain was willing to pay such a sum to rid herself of such an evil; and since it was the means of silencing and conciliating a considerable party who might otherwise have kept up a prolonged

series of delays, disputes, and heart-burnings, it may be regarded as a judicious compromise, and was well bestowed as a means of quietly and harmoniously effecting the great and glorious object, which was cheap at any price.

The apprenticeship, with which emancipation is clogged, is a matter of general regret, but that perhaps is an evil which will cure itself: when it works well it may be let alone; the time will quickly pass away, and the transition will be gradual. Where it fails to work satisfactorily, the masters will naturally be put upon trying the alternative left in their power, that of relinquishing the apprenticeship system, and engaging voluntary labourers at regular wages. The field will then be open to competition; skill and industry in the labourer will be stimulated by the hope of proportionate reward, and liberality will be promoted in the master by a desire to secure the most efficient labourers, and to attach them to his service: and thus it is probable that the apprenticeship system will have quietly passed away long before the period appointed for its legal extinction, just in the same manner as feudal slavery disappeared, without any express legal enactment for its abolition.

It is a most remarkable fact that after the many years of struggle and opposition which had attended this important question in all its previous stages, the act by which it was finally settled passed through both houses of parliament without a division: all opposing interests seemed to harmonize: even the planters themselves expressed their cordial approbation of the measure. By a pious observer this cannot be regarded in any other

light than that of a Divine interference in answer to prayer. It was evidently the work of Him who "makes crooked things straight, and rough places plain;" who has characterized himself as "the hearer and answerer of prayer;" and into whose ears constant supplications had been poured by the thousands of pious negroes groaning under oppression and persecution, and the tens of thousands of British Christians mourning over the guilt of their country and the sufferings of their fellow creatures. Now were the unprovoked injuries and patient endurance of the persecuted missionaries amply rewarded; for the complete triumph of religious liberty in the colonies may be fairly traced to the intrepid manner in which the missionaries resisted the lawless attempts of the colonists to prevent their "speaking and teaching in the name of the Lord Jesus." And if the name of William Tell deserves to be honoured as effecting the liberty of Switzerland; and those of Hampden, and Sydney, and Russell, as securing those of England, surely Knibb and Burchell, and their brethren, both of the baptist and Wesleyan denominations, deserve to be remembered with gratitude, as having by their sufferings abroad, and their statements at home, accomplished the liberation of Jamaica and the other British colonies.

ANTICIPATIONS AND CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST OF AUGUST, 1834.

From the period of the passing of the Abolition Bill, the day fixed for its coming into operation was anticipated, both at home and in the colonies, with intense interest, not unmingled with anxiety. The spirit in which the intelligence was received

in the colonies seemed to augur favourably for the peaceable and orderly deportment of the negroes when the law in their favour should take effect. The most zealous friends of the negroes were the most strenuous in impressing on their minds a sense of the benefits which would result to them from the recent enactments, and in urging upon them the duty of patiently waiting the period for their full emancipation; and, meanwhile, of exercising such a steady submission to the laws, a faithful, zealous discharge of their respective duties, and such respectful conduct towards their employers, as should justify the confidence reposed in their loyalty and industry, and the exertions that had been made to effect their deliverance. Such sentiments were forcibly expressed by Mr. Buxton, who, after many a painful, self-denying, untiring effort, at length had the satisfaction of conducting the cause to its joyful consummation.

"The right hon. gentleman," (Mr. Stanley,) "has done me the honour to say that the language which I hold towards the negroes may have some influence upon them. If I thought that that were the case,—if, indeed, the faintest echo of my voice can ever reach them,—most earnestly, most emphatically would I implore them, by every motive of duty, gratitude, and self-interest, to do their part towards the peaceful termination of their bondage. I would say to them—The time of your deliverance is at hand; let that period be sacred,—let it be defiled by no outrage,—let it be stained by no blood,—let not the hair of the head of a single planter be touched. Make any sacrifice, bear any indignity, submit to any privation,—rather than raise your hand against any white man. Continue

to wait and to work patiently; trust implicitly to that great nation and to that paternal government who are labouring for your release. Preserve peace and order to the utmost of your power; obey the laws, both before and at the time of your entire liberation; and when that period shall arrive, fulfil the expectations of your friends in England, and the promises they have made in your name, by the most orderly, diligent, and dutiful conduct. If you will do all this,—if you will assist us in the anxious task of a peaceful emancipation,—if you will resist every temptation to impatience, disturbance, or idleness,—if you will realise the predictions of your friends, and confute the forebodings of those who have been opposed to your emancipation,—if you will show by your conduct that you are not the brutes which you have been supposed to be, but human beings, capable of being influenced by the same motives as the rest of mankind,—you then will have fulfilled our most ardent wishes; you will have made a full return for all our labours; you will have secured your own and your children's welfare; and you will be the greatest of benefactors to the myriads of your race who remain in bondage under other nations. The fate of 5,000,000 of slaves mainly depends on the issue of this great experiment. This adds double force to the earnestness with which I would plead with the slaves, the planters, England, and her government, each and all, to lay aside their feelings of excitement, to bury former dissensions in oblivion, and to bend all their strength to effect this mighty reformation peaceably and safely, and if so, with unspeakable benefit to the slave, to the master, and to the nation at large."

In communicating to the negroes the measures of government on their behalf, these sentiments were inculcated with the utmost clearness and simplicity. Lord Mulgrave, the excellent governor of Jamaica, went himself from district to district throughout the island, and caused the negroes from the surrounding estates to be collected, while he personally explained to them the act of the British legislature for their emancipation. It is an affecting fact, that on the very spot where one hundred and fifty negroes suffered on one gallows during the insurrection, Lord Mulgrave proclaimed, "On the 1st of August, you, your wives, and children, will all be free!" His amiable lady accompanied him on this most interesting progress of benevolence; and while the negro parents pressed to listen to the joyful promise of their own emancipation and their children's freedom, this noble-minded, as well as titled, British lady, was seen caressing the lively black infant that capered in its mother's arms, as if partaking of the general joy.

On account of his health, Lord Mulgrave did not remain in Jamaica to witness the actual operation of the negro's magna charta. He returned to England in the spring of 1834, having throughout his colonial administration manifested such wisdom, prudence, and integrity, as could not fail to command the respect and confidence of all, and especially to secure the grateful veneration of all the friends of religion and humanity. His official conduct had at first exposed him to much contumely; for it was too liberal, too manly, too impartial, to suit those who were interested in prolonging the thraldom of their fellow men: but firmness and conciliation had worn down prejudice

and opposition, and Lord Mulgrave left Jamaica, as he was received at home—with universal respect and approbation. The several denominations of episcopalians, Moravians, and baptist missionaries, having united in a farewell address, (the Wesleyans had already presented one,) the liberal and honourable sentiments of his lordship were manifested in the following reply:—

"Gentlemen,—In returning you my best thanks for this address, I must commence by assuring you of the peculiar gratification I derive from seeing such a union on such an occasion. The value of this testimonial is much enhanced, when it is the combined expression of approbation on the part of good men engaged in a common cause, and in the service of Him who, we are taught to believe, knows no distinction amongst those who are faithful and diligent husbandmen of His word.

"It will, indeed, always be a pleasing reflection to me, that under the Divine blessing my conduct has been thought to have mainly contributed to produce the present favourable state of public feeling, as to the religious instruction of the lower orders.

"Having, through all my early political life, strenuously advocated, upon every occasion, the removal of the last remnants of intolerance from the British statute-book, I was not likely, when here exercising the authority of my sovereign, to submit to any illegal attempts at a revival of religious persecution. But, to all of those who have concurred in this address, towards whom the protection of the law was previously doubtful, as well as to that body of dissenters who have before addressed me, I must here return my thanks for

their discreet and praiseworthy conduct during the period of my government.

"That confidence they have uniformly shown in my good intentions on their behalf, which has frequently induced them to practise a patient forbearance under temporary difficulties and unmerited evils, has, I am convinced, by an avoidance of unnecessary collision, tended to secure the successful prosecution of your several duties in that path which is most acceptable to the Divine Founder of our religion—that of peace and good-will towards men."

On his lordship's arrival in England, a deputation from the committee of the Baptist Missionary Society waited on him, to congratulate him on his safe return, and to offer respectful acknowledgments for the protection afforded to the missionaries under his government.

The following address also was presented to his lordship by a deputation from the Anti-Slavery Society:—

"To the Right Hon. the Earl of Mulgrave, &c.

"We the undersigned members of the committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, as a deputation acting on behalf of that body, beg leave to offer your lordship our cordial congratulations on your return to England from the administration of the government of Jamaica.

"Called to undertake that important charge at a period of extraordinary difficulty and peril, your lordship has been the instrument, under Divine Providence, of restoring the privileges of religious toleration and the protection of law to all classes of the community under your government; and also of eminently promoting the success of one of

the boldest, and at the same time one of the most noble and virtuous experiments ever attempted by human legislation.

"The consciousness of having well performed your arduous duty at this eventful crisis, will be your lordship's great reward; but yet it may not be unsatisfactory, we trust, to your lordship, to receive the assurance, that your conduct, watched with jealous anxiety by a large portion of your countrymen associated for promoting the emancipation and improvement of the negro population, has, in the opinion of the society by whom we are deputed, merited their highest commendations and gratitude.

"*London, May* 31*st*, 1834."

Lord Mulgrave's Reply.

"Lord Suffield and Gentlemen,—I cannot attempt to express to you all I feel of gratitude for this most welcome testimony of your approbation of my exertions in that great cause, in promoting the success of which we have been, though in different spheres, equally interested. But I must commence by assuring you of the admiration I have always felt for your disinterested, indefatigable, and, though remote, most efficient labours in behalf of the absent and oppressed. I am aware that I am addressing many who have postponed all private interests, all selfish considerations, to the vindication of the rights of humanity. When I first undertook the government of Jamaica, I was aware that that great and glorious event, which is now upon the eve of accomplishment, could not be long delayed. Indeed it was this consideration which principally induced me to undertake the

task with which I was entrusted. I therefore studiously abstained from any direct communication with either of the great bodies representing the different interests on that vital question. But I no sooner arrived there, and felt all the difficulties by which I was surrounded,—conscious, too, that I was, as you say, watched here with jealous anxiety,—than I confidently looked for support from the great mass of my fellow-countrymen, whose sentiments on this subject are faithfully represented by you, and my conduct was uniformly guided by the desire to deserve that support. Seeing here several gentlemen connected with the missionary societies, whose brethren were for some time the subjects of the most relentless persecution on the part of a portion of the colonists, I am bound gratefully to acknowledge, that in all my efforts to protect their persons and maintain their rights, I was much assisted by the manner in which, being pleased to place unbounded confidence in my good intentions, they upon all occasions tempered zeal with discretion.

"One point, gentlemen, I am most anxious to press upon your attention—that you should on no account consider that your task is over. It will as yet require much watchfulness to secure the success of the mighty change. I speak to you now as an individual at present entirely unconnected with the government. I address a most important body, which has already done too much to leave any thing undone: but I cannot help advising you to keep your eye still upon all the parties whose co-operation is required. I would not, on any account, say one word which might keep up the prejudice against the planters; on the contrary, I feel bound most cordially to state,

that the general feeling of the colony is immeasurably improved, and that from a very large portion of the resident gentlemen, I latterly received very effective assistance; but as long as the system lasts, there must be cruelty founded on caprice. I much regretted that the power of arbitrary punishment was not at once taken away; for, up to the last moment, some instances occurred of its unwarrantable infliction. I always heard any complaint that was made to me; have known that the punishment was groundless, was excessive; but have been obliged to ask the fated question, Was the legal number of thirty-nine stripes exceeded? and if the answer was doubtful, in consideration for the negro himself, to recommend patience and abstinence from complaint. From the inspection of the vast majority of properties which I made last Christmas, I should decidedly say, that, if the negroes have fair play, little is to be feared from them. I ever found, that, when the circumstances of the change were explained to them, they had hearts to feel, and gratitude and faculties to comprehend, their future prospects. Much will remain to be done in the way of assistance from home, to which, of course, you are directing your attention. I shall at all times be happy to communicate with you, either individually or collectively, upon any point upon which my local experience may be desired by the Society. In conclusion, I must express again my high gratification at this tribute of thanks from a body, which, upon this subject, is identified with the almost individual sentiments of the country."

Lord Mulgrave was succeeded in the government of Jamaica by the Marquis of Sligo. Previously to the departure of this nobleman, a joint

deputation from the Wesleyan and Baptist Missionary Societies waited on him, and were readily admitted to an interview. The noble marquis listened with much attention to the statements made respecting the missionaries and their proceedings, and expressed himself in terms highly satisfactory to the deputation as to his sense of the value and importance of religious liberty, and his determination to uphold it. The new governor, on his arrival in Jamaica, seemed fully disposed to adopt the liberal and straightforward policy of his predecessor. His proclamation to the negroes, explanatory of the acts and intentions of his majesty's government towards them, is so admirable for its simplicity and clearness, that it was justly remarked (and a higher compliment could not have been paid to it), "One might almost conclude that the noble marquis had been in the habit of addressing Sunday scholars."

"*To the Negro Population throughout the Island of Jamaica.*

"My friends,—Our good king, who was himself in Jamaica a long time ago, still thinks and talks a great deal of this island. He has sent me here to take care of you, and to protect your rights: but he has also ordered me to see justice done to your owners, and to punish those who do wrong. Take my advice, for I am your friend—be sober, honest, and work well when you become apprentices, for should you behave ill and refuse to work because you are no longer slaves, you will assuredly render yourselves liable to punishment.

"The people of England are your friends and fellow-subjects—they have shown themselves such by passing a bill to make you all free. Your

masters are your friends; they have proved their kind feeling towards you all by passing in the house of assembly the same bill. The way to prove that you are deserving of all this goodness, is by labouring diligently during your apprenticeship.

"You will be on the 1st of August next no longer slaves, but from that day you will be apprenticed to your former owners for a few years, in order to fit you all for freedom. It will therefore depend entirely on your own conduct whether your apprenticeship be shorter or longer; for should you run away you will be brought back by the maroons and police, and have to remain in apprenticeship longer than those who behave well. You will only be required to work four days and a half in each week; the remaining day and a half in each week will be your own time, and you may employ it for your own benefit. Bear in mind that every one is obliged to work—some work with their hands, others with their heads, but no one can live and be considered respectable without some employment. Your lot is to work with your hands; I pray you, therefore, do your part faithfully, for if you neglect your duty, you will be brought before the magistrates whom the king has sent out to watch you, and they must act fairly and do justice to all by punishing those who are badly disposed. Do not listen to the advice of bad people, for should any of you refuse to do what the law requires of you, you will bitterly repent it; when at the end of the appointed time all your fellow-labourers are released from apprenticeship, you find yourselves condemned to hard labour in the workhouse for a lengthened period, as a punishment for your disobedience.

"If you follow my advice and conduct yourselves well, nothing can prevent your being your own masters, and to labour only for yourselves, and your wives, and your children, at the end of four or six years, according to your respective classes.

"I have not time to go about to all the properties in the island and tell you this myself—I have therefore ordered this letter of advice to be printed, and ordered it to be read to you all, that you may not be deceived, and bring yourselves into trouble by bad advice or mistaken notions.

"I trust you will all be obedient and diligent subjects to our good king, so that he may never have cause to be sorry for all the good he has done for you."

The following, by Sir James Carmichael Smith, is equally satisfactory:—

"In a proclamation which I addressed to you, about three months ago, I told you that whatever orders I received from the king about you I would immediately communicate them to you, and that you might depend upon my carrying them punctually into execution. I warned you of the necessity of your continuing to conduct yourselves quietly; of steadily performing your work; and of yielding to your masters a cheerful and a ready obedience. I am happy to say that you have followed my advice; you have conducted yourselves as well as could have been wished. This country never was happier or quieter. You have shown to the world that you are worthy of the great sacrifice of money the people of England have agreed to give to your masters for your freedom. I thank

you for your good conduct. Listen now to the orders which our great and good king has sent to me about you. You will find that every thing that could be thought of to render you happy and industrious has been attended to.

"1. You are to continue as you are until the 1st of August next. This delay is necessary to enable the justices of the peace (under whose care and superintendence you are to be more particularly placed) to be selected, and to be sent here from England. On the 1st of August next you are to be no longer slaves, but apprenticed labourers. The difference between a slave and an apprenticed labourer is very much in your favour. A master is, by law, entitled to require his slave to work nine hours per day, or fifty-four hours per week; an apprenticed labourer can only be called upon to work at the rate of seven and a-half hours per day, or forty-five hours per week. You gain, consequently, as soon as you are apprenticed labourers, at once nine hours per week, in which you can work or do any thing for yourselves. The master of a slave can order his slave to be punished. The master of an apprenticed labourer will have no such power over his apprentice; but if he has any fault to find, he will have to complain to a justice of the peace, whose duty it will be to listen patiently, to examine witnesses, and to write down carefully all the particulars of the story, as related both by the master and the apprenticed labourer, before he gives judgment. These judgments must, moreover, be laid from time to time before me; and if any justice of the peace abuses his authority, or acts with partiality, or under the influence of passion, or in any way shows himself unworthy of the

high trust committed to his charge, you may depend upon his being immediately removed. You see, therefore, the great advantages you will derive from being apprenticed labourers instead of slaves.

"2. However much your situation will be improved, and your happiness and comforts augmented, by being made apprenticed labourers instead of slaves, yet it is further intended that in a few years you shall be perfectly free, and at liberty to engage yourselves with any master, or gain your livelihood in any way you may think proper. The king has ordered that you are to be apprenticed labourers only from the 1st of next August until the 1st of August of the year 1840, which is but six years of apprenticeship. On the 1st of August, 1840, you will be as free as any white man.

"3. I have said to you that the master is by law entitled to fifty-four hours per week of labour from his slave, and that from the apprenticed labourer he will only be entitled to forty-five hours per week. There are, however, many domestic slaves employed about a house, and many mechanics and artificers, who do not work in the field, but who are required to give up more of their time to their master. A list of these people will be carefully made; and it is the king's orders that, as they give up a greater portion of their time for the use and advantage of their masters than the slave who merely works at his lawful labours in the field, so they should receive a recompence, by being entitled to their freedom at an earlier period. A list of all slaves employed as I have described will be made out, and on the 1st of August next they are to be called non-

predial apprenticed labourers; and they will receive their complete freedom on the 1st of August, 1838, that is, two years before their comrades.

"I have now made you acquainted with the king's order, and with every thing that is to be done with respect to you. I trust you will all return to your work quietly, happily, and cheerfully; and that in your prayers you will not fail to return your humble and sincere thanks to the Almighty God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, for having thus opened the door, and prepared to lead you from the house of bondage. The wisest and ablest of men never anticipated that such a great and blessed change could have been effected in your favour but at a remote period, and even then accompanied with bloodshed. Let me urge you, for your own sakes, now that you are aware of all the good that is intended for you, to prove yourselves worthy of the blessings of freedom: and in all matters, and upon all occasions, to show yourselves loyal and obedient subjects of that truly paternal government to which you owe so much."

May this worthy governor's pious and affectionate exhortation be attended with its due effect!

These may serve as specimens. In other colonies governors of the same enlightened character would doubtless adopt similar modes of conveying to the negroes such a clear sense of their privileges and their obligations as was likely to secure propriety and peaceableness of deportment on their part.

The attention of the paternal government was anxiously directed to the best means of securing this important object; and one which they

contemplated with the fullest confidence, was that of effecting the immediate return of the missionaries to their negro flocks at that most important crisis. Let the missionaries be there, the men who had secured the confidence and affection of the negroes, and no tumult need be apprehended. Christian moderation would then characterise the expressions of their joy—their feelings would be turned in a blameless and holy direction—and liberty, so far from leading to licentiousness, would promote order, harmony, industry, and cheerful subordination. Such were the sentiments which obtained in the British cabinet, and which led to direct communication with the conductors of missionary societies to that effect. The missionaries from Jamaica were most willing and eager to return, but formidable impediments were in the way. Their chapels had been wantonly and illegally destroyed. Thirteen chapels belonging to the Baptist Missionary Society, and six belonging to the Wesleyans, besides some hundreds of prayer-houses, which had been built by the voluntary exertions of the poor negroes, who also had contributed largely to the erection of the now demolished chapels. The thirteen scattered churches of the Baptists comprehended about five thousand members, and ten thousand inquirers, so that at least twenty thousand negroes were deprived, partly through the absence of their pastors, but chiefly through the demolition of their chapels, of the comfort and benefit of divine ordinances; for it was impossible for them to assemble without any shelter from the scorching sun. At the lowest estimate the loss of property to the society was seventeen thousand nine hundred pounds; that of the Wesleyans about

two thousand one hundred. Of the former amount five thousand five hundred and ten pounds remained unpaid; the missionaries lying under obligations to that amount, which the pious negroes, by their hard-earned savings, were patiently wearing away, when the hand of violence deprived them of their beloved sanctuaries, and of the means of rebuilding them. Application for redress was made to the colonial government, and subsequently to the government at home. After a careful investigation of the subject, his Majesty's ministers announced their intention of recommending Parliament to grant the sum of five thousand five hundred and ten pounds, being the amount of the outstanding claims. The official communication which announced this grant, accompanied it by this honourable remark, "that the negro population might not be deprived of the services of those able and zealous missionaries, who were compelled by violence to quit the colony." But on its being represented that this grant would prove wholly inadequate, the committee of the society was invited to raise one half of the remaining sum, on the understanding that if that were realized, the other half should be provided by government. This proposition was made on the very eve of the society's annual meeting. The prospects of the mission in connexion with the abolition of slavery, of course formed a principal topic in the addresses and resolutions of that day; and the above proposition was thrown before the meeting by Mr. Knibb, who expressed his hope that at this particular juncture, the society would gather round it the sympathies of the different sections of the christian church, and that no one

present would be satisfied without contributing at least one brick towards those chapels, which were to be erected as monuments of the triumph of liberty. The motion was seconded by the Rev. J. Leifchild, who powerfully appealed to the audience, urging them to immediate action.

These appeals to the voluntary principle were not dishonoured by the British public. The chairman, (W. B. Gurney, Esq.,) in proposing the resolution, expressed the pleasure he felt in contributing five hundred pounds towards the object. This was immediately followed by a similar donation from the treasurer, J. B. Wilson, Esq.; and before the meeting broke up, the contributions amounted to two thousand three hundred pounds. Besides this, several ministers present, both of the baptist and other denominations, pledged themselves on behalf of their respective congregations for various amounts; and the most cheerful hopes were entertained that the amount required would be collected by the day of liberation. Cards were issued, and widely circulated, inviting the friends of religion to make an effort, in order to meet the emergency; and appointing August 7th as the period for remitting the sums collected, when a public meeting was to be held in London, at which Mr. Knibb and Mr. Burchell would attend, and take leave of their friends in England, previous to their return to Jamaica. Nor were these hopes disappointed. Contributions poured in from all quarters: many from persons of distinguished rank, members of parliament, and others. A donation of ten pounds from the late governor of Jamaica, Lord Mulgrave, was accompanied by a letter to the secretary of the society, referring to it

"as a proof of that anxiety which he sincerely felt to see the missionaries enabled to resume their useful labours; by affording every facility for which, (said his lordship,) I am sure the success of the mighty experiment now in progress may be best promoted."

It was natural that the mighty triumph of justice and humanity should impart a cheerful tone to the anniversary meetings of all the benevolent societies. There was not a single report that did not breathe the spirit of congratulation; and scarcely a meeting that did not elicit some benevolent project for accompanying liberation to the negro with some spiritual gift that should render it a blessing indeed. The various missionary societies resolved to extend their labours in the emancipated colonies, and opened subscriptions for that special objeet. The Bible Society, at the suggestion of the Rev. Hugh Stowell, of Manchester, conceived the noble design of presenting the Holy Scriptures, or a part of them, to each emancipated negro who could read, or the head of a family where the children were learning to read. The Religious Tract Society, in the course of the year, sent out tracts and books for libraries to the amount of four hundred pounds; and purchases of their publications, to an equal amount, were made by individuals or societies for the same object: a large number of elementary books was also sent out by the Sunday-School Union. Intelligence of these benevolent movements on their behalf, would reach the negroes before the day of emancipation; and doubtless had a happy effect on their minds in exciting gratitude and confidence in the British people, and a determination to act in

such a manner as should justify the expectations, and reward the exertions of their benefactors.

A more particular account of the present scale of religious and benevolent operations will be given in the next chapter. Our immediate object is to trace the preparations for, and observance of "the glorious first of August."* The various missionary societies recommended to their respective denominations to regard the day with special thanksgiving to God, by whose providence the glorious revolution had been achieved, and with earnest prayer for his divine benediction on all connected with the event, and especially on the efforts of christian liberality for extending among the emancipated that blessed gospel, by which alone they could be made free indeed. The following just and excellent sentiments were circulated by the committee of the Anti-Slavery Society:—

"Surely a day of such vast moment to the welfare of one part of the empire, and to the honour of the whole, ought not to pass unnoticed. Imagination cannot picture the mighty change which will be brought on that day. But those who have dwelt for years in deep compassion on the ceaseless scourgings which slavery demanded, the stripes which disfigured every day; who have beheld the population melting away, and finding deliverance

* It was so denominated on account of several splendid naval victories during the war with France; the battle of Camperdown, under Lord Howe, in 1797, and that of the Nile, under Lord Nelson, in 1798: but the glory of these victories was tarnished with blood. This alone conferred a real glory on the day, as distinguished by the bloodless triumphs of the Prince of peace; which, unlike other victories, could be celebrated by angels with "Glory to God n the highest, on earth peace, good-will toward men."

from oppression only in the grave; and who, above all, have beheld their own fellow-subjects debarred by the deliberate fiat of Christian men from the benefits of Christianity,—these can form some faint conception of the evils to be closed, of the blessings to be commenced, on the 1st of August, 1834.

"We do know, however, that between the setting and the rising of one sun, the unspeakable abominations of the system will cease. Such a day in the annals of England ought not to pass unregarded. It is the day for undoing the heavy burdens and letting the oppressed go free; and the true celebration of such an event is in hearty and united thanksgiving to God for his marvellous achievement, and prayer that he will bless the work, bless the givers, bless the receivers, and make it a source of blessing to the oppressed and afflicted throughout the world.

"Let, then, the 1st of August, 1834, be employed by those who have taken part in the great work, to the service and praise of God; let it be a day of lifting up our hearts to him, a day of exertions for promoting the religious instruction of those who are on that day called into a new state of being; and for craving the outpouring of the Spirit on the multitudes, who, having so long been enthralled by the wickedness of man, are at length delivered by the arm of God.

"Some may think that this great work was accomplished by the act of man; some will ascribe it to one body, and some to another; but we trust that our friends, now that the conflict of party has ceased, and the cloud raised around us by the passions of man has been dispersed, will unite in acknowledging the signal providence of Almighty

God, who has, from the beginning to the end, been the true DOER of the glorious work; originating it in the hearts of its advocates,—lifting it over the all but insurmountable obstacles of its early days,—setting at nought the counsels alike of friends and foes, providing means, employing instruments, unexpected, diverse, conflicting, yet under the skilful guidance of the DIVINE HAND, all urging forward to the same conclusion,—and from the chaos of confusion, the battle of irreconcilable opinions, bringing us to the incredible consummation of emancipation in peace, in harmony, in safety, in congratulation and acquiescence on all sides.

"Those who are the most intimately acquainted with the history of the cause will the most heartily acknowledge, that the issue is the work of HIM who 'executeth judgment for the oppressed,'—who alone 'worketh salvation in the midst of the earth.'

"We have no wish to prescribe to any of our friends the mode of celebrating the day. Each individual will pursue the course most congenial to his own conscience. But whatever be the outward act, every member of our society will rejoice in the arrival of the Day of Liberty throughout the British Empire."

Accordingly, very interesting services of a religious kind were held very generally. In some places several congregations united or held alternate services on the day of the negro's jubilee. Cheerful songs of praise resounded through many British temples. Devout thanksgivings were offered to Almighty God for the peaceable accomplishment of the mighty work: fervent supplications ascended on behalf of our paternal king, and his enlightened and patriotic government; and on the

negroes, their children, and their religious instructors. In most places Sunday Schools were assembled and addressed — either separately, or conjointly with the young persons in general— with the hope of impressing on their minds, in conjunction with negro emancipation, a due sense of their own privileges and obligations, and to pledge them, as it were, to a holy determination to consecrate their energies with untiring ardour, to the glorious work of expelling slavery from the earth, and extending the gospel to the whole human race.

Art and literature, too, rendered their aid in commemorating the joyful day of negro liberty. Several beautiful medals were struck at Birmingham, with various emblematical devices, expressive of the joy of the negro on bursting his shackles, and trampling on the instruments of his torture; of the negro mother, on clasping her free-born child; of the christian negro, on receiving at the hands of Britain the blessed volume of inspired truth: these, and other devices, were executed in materials more or less costly, and sold from the price of a few pence up to two guineas. At the farewell meeting of the Baptist Missionaries at the London Tavern, Aug. 7th, medals of this description were presented to Messrs. Burchell and Knibb; also to the treasurer and secretary of the society.

An abstract of the act of negro emancipation was printed in an ornamental manner, intended for framing and glazing.*

* A copy of this on white satin, in letters of gold, was presented to her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, who had kindly contributed ten guineas towards the rebuilding the chapels in Jamaica.

In several instances, the 1st of August was fixed upon for the celebration of marriage, that the day of negro emancipation might ever be associated with joyous family recollections. Such was the case in the family of T. F. Buxton, Esq., one of the main instruments in accomplishing the mighty triumph. The eldest daughter of that gentleman was on that day united in marriage to Alexander Johnstone, Esq., M.P.

A grand meeting was held at the London Tavern, consisting of most of the members of both houses of parliament who had favoured the cause of abolition. Lord Mulgrave presided, and the meeting was addressed by Mr. Spring Rice, Mr. Buxton, Mr. O'Connell, Dr. Lushington, &c.

Among the more permanent monuments of British joy in the abolition of negro slavery, an effort made by the Baptist congregation in Eagle Street, Red Lion Street, Holborn, deserves to be recorded. Their pastor, the Rev. J. Ivimey, had been a distinguished advocate and promoter of abolition. It was very near the close of his life when he was permitted to witness its triumph. Shortly after the passing of the bill, a day of thanksgiving was observed in that congregation, when it was proposed to commemorate the great event by the erection of schools for the accommodation of 300 children; to be used both as Sunday Schools and British Schools; the building also comprehending twelve alms-rooms for aged women. On the day of laying the foundation, two liberated negroes attended; the demolished instruments of torture were buried beneath the foundation-stone of the building. The pastor, and several other friends, addressed the meeting. H. Pownall, Esq.

who laid the foundation, gave an interesting sketch of the history of negro slavery. Mr. Knibb related several touching anecdotes, and exulted in the thought that the cruel oppression of negroes was near its termination; that the period was hastening on, when a deacon of a christian church should be no longer exposed to flogging for the crime of praying in his minister's house for the recovery of that minister from dangerous sickness.

But in what manner was the joyful First of August passed among the negroes themselves? Some of the colonies wisely anticipated the enactments of the British legislature, by substituting immediate and entire emancipation for the proposed apprenticeship. It is to the honour of Antigua to have taken the lead in this noble act, by which its 30,000 slaves at once had the yoke of bondage broken from their necks, and were admitted to equal rights with their masters. This noble resolution having passed the House of Assembly by a majority of one, was immediately, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants, proclaimed throughout the island with beat of drums. The small colony of Bermuda, much to its honour, resolved, on a mature consideration of the subject, that it was "fit and proper, in consideration of the compensation provided by the statute, that the unrestricted freedom of the slaves should take place on the 1st of August, and that the apprenticeship system contemplated by the statute should be dispensed with, so far as regards the colony of Bermuda." By this act about 4,600 slaves were put in immediate possession of the privileges of freemen.

No sooner was this both wise and equitable measure decided on, than all the old horrors and

apprehensions that connected emancipation with confusion and bloodshed, vanished like vapours before the rising sun. It was anticipated, not only with perfect composure, but with cheerful hope of general improvement in the home trade of the colony. Shops and stores were established in various parts, in order to profit by the trade which would be carried on by the new race of freemen: for it was well known that many of the slaves were in possession of considerable sums of money, which, during a long course of years, they had been scraping together, with the forlorn hope of being at some time able to purchase their freedom, but which would now be available for many other purposes, and would be expended usefully to themselves, and beneficially for others. It will be concluded that where every measure was thus adopted that would promote harmony and good-will between master and servant, the great transition would be made without violence or confusion.

Demerara also adopted a most conciliatory measure—that of anticipating, by five months, the provisions of the legislature in one important particular—namely, restricting masters from inflicting corporal pnnishment for any cause whatever. This regulation in that colony was brought into effect on the first of March instead of the first of August, and the planters soon reaped the advantage of their liberality in this and other particulars; for although the season was by no means peculiarly favourable, a considerably increased quantity of colonial produce was gathered in, which was solely attributable to the good-will and diligence of the slaves, in consequence of the milder treatment they

experienced, and the cheering prospects before them.

It was anticipated that Jamaica would have accompanied Antigua in adopting immediate emancipation, as a very strong and pretty general feeling in preference of that plan was manifested. It was, however, ultimately overruled, and the apprenticeship system adopted. An eminent West Indian proprietor went over from England for the purpose of giving his slaves complete enfranchisement on the 1st of August, and making such arrangements as would secure to him their voluntary labour on his several plantations. This case, perhaps, was not singular; and its results will in all probability demonstrate the wisdom of such a course, and lead to the general imitation of such an example.

As to the other colonies, it was generally and wisely resolved that the 1st of August should be celebrated as a jubilee, and that religious services should be held in all the churches and chapels, as the most safe and suitable channel in which to direct the joy of the liberated slaves, and the most likely method to allay all intoxication of mind on so great an event.

From the several colonies where missionaries are stationed, most interesting and gratifying accounts were received of the celebration of the day, and the subsequent conduct of the negroes. A few specimens will give an idea of the whole.

From Mr. Dendy, Falmouth, Jamaica.

"The ever-to-be-remembered first of August has passed. Here we found it a good day. The

people thronged into town to the baptist and methodist places of worship in great numbers. We commenced the public services of the day with a prayer-meeting at six o'clock. We had preaching at half-past ten; the people listened with great attention while they were addressed from Ps. cxxvi. 3, 'The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.' And they sung with much spirit the hymn commencing, 'Blow ye the trumpet,' &c. At this service there could not be less than one thousand six hundred people.

"A month before, I had given notice that a special collection would be made, as a thank-offering to Almighty God for the great change effected, the proceeds to be applied towards the re-erection of the chapel. The people are poor; on this occasion they strained every nerve, and showed their gratitude, not only in expressions of thankfulness, but by their contributions, which amounted to eighty-three pounds currency.

"On this occasion I read the resolutions of the British and Foreign Bible Society in reference to the gift of a New Testament with the Psalms; with joyful countenances they came forward to have their names entered as being able to read, or as having children who were learning to read.

"The day passed off in a very different manner to what a day of public rejoicing generally does; every countenance beamed with joy, and every heart appeared filled with gladness, but there was none of that noisy ebullition of feeling which is frequently displayed on far less interesting occasions. We cannot but attribute this, in a great measure, to the influence of the gospel, which

combines peace with joy; and which gospel so many profess to believe and embrace.

"On the following Sabbath (the 3rd) Jamaica witnessed such a Sabbath as was never before seen. In going to and from our place of worship in this town, the eye was no longer pained or the heart grieved, in seeing country people with their baskets of provisions on their heads for sale, or in beholding the stores and shops for the vending of different commodities, but all was quietude and repose, and nought was to be seen but decently dressed people going to and from different places of worship."

From Mr. Tinson, Kingston, Jamaica.

"The first day of August has come, and passed by, without anarchy or riot. The country continues in peace, and there can be no doubt that it will, if masters will only deal candidly with their dependents. With very few exceptions, and those scarcely worth mentioning, the greatest possible harmony and good-will have prevailed among the apprentices. In St. Ann's, a few of the people quietly refused to work for a day or two; most likely from not having their real condition explained to them, as it ought to have been. A few troops were sent from Kingston, and some of the special magistrates went among the people, and explained the law, after which they all went to work, and the troops have returned.

"Many expected that there would be an uproarious expression of popular feeling on the first of August, but such was not the case, either in town or country. Houses of religious worship were almost every where crowded, and in many

places hundreds were unable to get in. By four o'clock in the morning, the chapels in town were thronged.

"The quietness of the day was surprising: I went into town between services, and every thing seemed more still than is usual on the Sabbath, and the people seemed disposed to make it quite a religious day. In the evening there were a few joyous groups about the streets; one passed our house, chiefly young persons and children, adorned with green leaves and flowers, and carrying branches in their hands, dancing and singing:—'Tankee, Massa, fus a Augus! Hurrah! hurrah! fus a Augus come! Fus a Augus for eber! We da prentis now, God bless de King! Hurrah! hurrah! fus a Augus for eber!'

"It was truly surprising, and very delightful to the Christian, to see how completely the Sunday markets ceased on the very first Sabbath in this month. I baptized twenty persons on that morning, and in going to the sea at day-break, I had to pass along the road where a large public market has been kept by the country people for many years, and where formerly, at that hour on the Sabbath morning, it would have presented the appearance of a large country fair in England; but now there was not a person to be seen, except those going to the baptism, and not a vestige of the market! I was told by some of our members that it was the same in the city, where thousands used to assemble! Surely God has heard the prayers of his people in England. This is *his* doing, and marvellous in our eyes.

"A lady writing from Lacovia, St. Elizabeth's, speaking of the Moravian congregation at New

Carmel, says, 'It was indeed a fine sight; the hill was crowded, and the church could not contain half the assembled multitude; joy and peace beamed in every countenance; the quietness, considering the numbers, surprised me, and proved their joy was sanctified. It was pleasing to witness the happiness and gratitude of the regular congregation, in seeing so many negroes there for the first time; it was to them a hopeful omen, that more would *now* seek the Lord and his ways.' Again, on the Sabbath, she says, 'Sunday eve—I cannot, dear sir, help taking up my pen to communicate to you what must be pleasing to every christian to hear, that, *if possible*, the numbers that were at New Carmel to-day, exceeded what we were privileged to witness on Friday; most attentive and anxious to be instructed appear those who *we* know were hitherto kept from the means of grace.' Judging from letters received from brethren Baylis, Dendy, and others, and from common report, the foregoing was only a specimen of the general feeling. Every where the people seemed spontaneously to hasten to the house of God, wherever the doors were open for religious worship, whether Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, Moravian, or Baptist. What hath God wrought! The Lord hath done great things for this land, whereof we are glad. Help us to praise."

Mr. Phillippo details some of the simple and pious expressions of negro joy uttered at their prayer-meetings on the day of jubilee.

"One said: 'O Lord, our gracious Saviour, what we is meet togeder for dis mornin when we don't usual do so on dis day of de week? We is

come to bless and to magnify dy great and holy name, dat dou has done dis great blessin unto us, to bring us out of de house of bondage dis day. O Lord, what is dis dat we eye see, and we ear hear? Dy word tell we dat king and prophet wish to see de tings dat we see, and to hear de tings dat we hear, and die widout de sight. O Lord, if we desperate wicked and tubborn heart won't praise de as dey ought, pluck dem up by de root! Here, Lord, we give dem up unto dee; melt dem wid de fire of dy lov, wash dem in de pure fountain of dy blood, and make dem what dou would have dem to be.'

"Another said, 'Blessed Lord, as dou so merciful pare we, to let we see dis blessed mornin, we want word, we want tongue, we want heart to praise de. Debil don't do de good to us, but dou do de good to us, for dou put it into de heart of blessed European to grant us dis great privilege! O derefore may none of we poor sinner praise de debil, by makin all de carouze about de street, but fock like dove to deir window to praise and glorify dy great name.'

"'Since dou has don dis great ting,' said a third, 'O dat we may love dee and dy gospel more—may we neber turn dy blessing into a curse, may we be diligent in our proper calling, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord. O Lord, now do dou make dine arm bare, and turn de heart of all de people unto dee.'"

At the close of the service, trifling articles from England, as bags, pincushions, &c. were distributed among the female negroes, who were exceedingly eager to obtain them in remembrance of the joyful day. The munificent grant of the Bible Society

had not yet arrived, but all were exceedingly anxious to qualify themselves for receiving it, by being able to read.

It is interesting to observe, that from this time the celebration of marriage among the negroes, is frequently mentioned among the engagements of the ministers of religion.

The accounts from the Wesleyan ministers are equally interesting. From Mr. Fraser, of Tortola.—"The ever-memorable and glorious day (August 1st) was passed by us in a religious and most happy manner. Our chapels were opened; and it being holiday by common consent, the human beings who had that morning for the first time breathed the air of freedom, assembled in cheerful crowds to praise and worship Him, who 'looseth the prisoners.' There was not room to receive them; no, not in our largest chapel. Great was our rejoicing; the more so, because many had foreboded soreness and discontent. A negro, at the head of a group, accosted the missionary, saying, 'Sir, we would wish a petition to return thanks to the king.' (He thought, it seems, that every address to his majesty must be called a petition.) The missionary replied, 'No doubt the king will be greatly pleased when he hears of your thankfulness and orderly behaviour.'

"The holiday is now past, and the people have returned to their work, apparently with their hearts sweetly bowed as the heart of one man." The missionary then speaks of the pains taken by himself and his brethren to instil into the minds of the negroes principles of subordination and contentment, adds, "And though the safety of the islands may be attributed in some sense to military

preparations, we think it cannot be denied, that the cheerful order and contentedness of the people are to be ascribed, under God, to the efforts of your missionaries."

Mr. Gordon, of St. Christopher's, writes—"This memorable day has at length dawned upon us; and if we may judge by the manner in which it has been ushered in, we shall enjoy peace and prosperity. The governor-general, Sir E. M. Macgregor, in a proclamation, announced the first of August as a day of public thanksgiving, and ordered all churches and chapels to be opened at the usual hour for morning service. Accordingly, notice was given, and a large number flocked to our services from all quarters. Truly this is a time of hallowed joy. All classes of the community appear glad that the cursed system of slavery is abandoned." This missionary states that some of the negroes in fervent prayer, and in a very becoming manner, praised God for the boon of freedom, and then prayed heartily for the king and the people, that they might obey the law, and make a good use of their freedom.

From Antigua Mr. Box communicated very interesting intelligence. He endeavoured, by previous instructions, especially by a familiar explanation of the twelfth and thirteenth chapters of Romans, to prepare the minds of the negroes for a suitable reception of the blessing of freedom. They too had been preparing new clothing for the occasion, and had anxiously counted the months, weeks, days, and hours before freedom would arrive. The eve of freedom was held as a watch-night; the chapel being illuminated and decorated

with evergreens and wreaths of flowers. The service commenced at ten o'clock. Until nearly midnight occupied in prayer, reading the Scriptures, singing hymns, and explaining the new law, to which they would now be subject. The minister then suggested the propriety of receiving the inestimable boon of freedom on their knees, and requested them silently to lift up their hearts to God until he should announce to them that slavery was no more. This he did at the important moment, by giving out, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow." This they sung on their knees; then rising, received the congratulation of their minister on their new state and relationship, so unexpectedly, so astonishingly brought about. As he farther addressed them on the duty, not only of devotedness to God, but of loyalty towards their beloved sovereign, they one and all shouted, "God save the King! Long live King William the Fourth! God save the King!" and hundreds upon hundreds, just delivered from the house of bondage, made the place to ring with the voice of joy and thanksgiving. Next morning crowds of well-dressed negroes assembled for the purposes of thanksgiving, prayer and instruction. At the close of this service, the Sunday scholars with their teachers, amounting to about seven hundred, were assembled, regaled, and rewarded chiefly with suitable books; while the hearts of all were yet further gladdened, and their endeavours after improvement stimulated, by an intimation of the noble grant of the Bible Society.

The joyful occasion was celebrated in a similar manner at Boland, and at St. John's, as described

by Mr. Pilcher and Mr. Banks. The former gentleman observes, that at the moment of announcing the era by singing "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow," it seemed as if the very heavens rejoiced with us, for just at this moment the thunder rolled with all the majesty of a royal salute, while the clouds poured down their precious contents upon the thirsty ground, as if emblematical of those hallowing influences of the Holy Spirit which we then felt.

On the peaceable deportment of the negroes, Mr. Banks remarked that he walked through St. John's, with two of his brethren, after ten o'clock at night, in order to see how the people behaved, and found all as still and tranquil as could possibly be conceived; not a drunkard to be seen any where; and on inquiry at the police office, they were assured that not a complaint had been heard of the slightest case of disorder or bad conduct.

The accounts from Jamaica, both of the joyful services of the emancipation day, and the conduct of the negroes, are very similar to those already given. The missionaries were uniformly most attentive and most successful in impressing sentiments of loyalty, subordination, industry, and contentment. All describe with joy and gratitude the eagerness of the negroes in flocking to the house of prayer as soon as they could do so "without let, hinderance, or molestation;" their glad abandonment of the Sunday market; and their cheerful return to their regular duties on the Monday. "To-day," says Mr. Samuel, "all is quiet; the negroes are peaceably at work all round this neighbourhood."

"The conduct of the negroes during this eventful period," says Mr. Corbett, of Montego Bay, "has been such as will raise them, I should think, in the eyes of all their friends."

Mr. Wilson, of Kingston, states, "The first of August, the day looked forward to with so much anxiety by almost every individual at home and abroad, has passed off in Jamaica much more quietly and peaceably than could reasonably have been expected, considering the greatness of the change which then took place in the civil condition of upwards of three hundred thousand slaves. There has been a 'passive resistance' on the part of the negroes on a few properties, but it appears to have arisen from the nature of the new law, and is the natural consequence of the conduct of some individuals who have neglected clearly and fully to explain to the negroes under their care their real situation after the first of August. Some of the misguided negroes have been punished, and the rest, as far as I have been able to learn, have all returned to their work, so that at present we are perfectly quiet in Jamaica, as far as the great change is concerned."

Thus, then, on the whole, it appears that the great transition from negro slavery to emancipation was effected with general tranquillity and satisfaction to all parties;—that in many instances—perhaps in a majority of instances—it was celebrated in a rational and christian-like manner; with lively feelings of gratitude, both to the Author and the instruments of their deliverance, and with a cheerful determination to conform to the regulations appointed for their future government. In some

instances, however, a disposition was manifested on the part of the negroes to murmur at the temporary restrictions with which emancipation was clogged; nor can this be wondered at, when even among the masters the apprenticeship is regarded as a very questionable measure, and one, that when its working has been fairly tried, will in all probability be given up by common consent. All will admit, that even in the present condition of negroes, a boon of immense value has been conferred, and their situation is incomparably improved, while they have also the certainty of absolute freedom at a period not very far distant; and, moreover, that things are now placed on such a footing as to be open to any improvement which experience may suggest. We have seen that unrestricted freedom has been conferred by some colonies, and in others by individual proprietors. Should all the colonies see fit simultaneously to adopt such a measure, it might easily be effected, without any violent collision of opinions and feelings, and without any formidable clashing of interests and obligations, which was so much apprehended in the prospect of emancipation. It would probably be attended with as little noise and confusion as the change of weights and measures, which a short time since took place among us; but it is yet more probable that the system will die away gradually: one intelligent proprietor and another will perceive the advantage of employing labourers altogether voluntary. Acting on that conviction, apprentices will be discharged, and free labourers will be engaged, and the success of individual experiments will ensure general imitation.

Duties resulting.

There can be no change in human affairs but brings with it specific duties. Those events in providence which are altogether independent of human agency, such as health, sickness, prosperity, and adversity, demand the exercise of suitable dispositions towards God; such as gratitude, resignation, and consecration; and every relationship with our fellow-creatures which we either naturally sustain or voluntarily assume or dissolve, involves its correspondent duties. In this way we are under very peculiar obligations to the poor negroes. Not to speak now of its being right or wrong to have enslaved them, the fact is undoubted, that a relation between Europeans and Africans has existed; they were brought into the relation of master and servant. Time was when they were unconnected, as much so as any two portions of the human race can be; nor, it must be admitted, did the negroes seek an intimacy: but Europeans visited their coast, and conveyed them to other shores, and there employed them in their service. On this relationship were founded *claims*, the claim of a servant on his master for sufficient maintenance and humane treatment—the claims of those who take part in the labours of an enterprise to share in its advantages—the claim which every human being has upon another with whom he comes in contact, for the impartation of knowledge connected with his eternal well-being. Every one who knows the gospel, is bound to teach it to every one to whom he has access, and to the utmost of his ability.

How far any of these obligations have been

discharged towards the poor negroes, forms a theme of painful reflection rather than of self-approbation. There have been honourable exceptions of individuals who, duly considering the relation in which they found themselves placed, endeavoured to do towards their negroes as they would have been done by; but speaking of general facts, it must be admitted that, as a nation, "we are verily guilty concerning our brother."

At length, after centuries of supineness, Britain was awakened to a sense of her guilt; and what a fearful catalogue of crimes stood forth to view!—the crime of enslaving and tyrannizing over our freeborn fellow men; the crime of oppressing them, and making them to serve with rigour; the guilt of withholding a due reward for their toil; the crime of inflicting hardships and cruelties on their persons; of disregarding and severing their social ties, and withholding from them the means of knowledge and salvation. And generation after generation of the negro race had passed away under temporal and spiritual injury inflicted by professing christians!

For the last half century one attempt after another has continually been making to palliate some of the grosser evils of slavery, to meliorate the wretched condition of the slave, to restrain the cruel scourge, to abolish the odious traffic, to prevent the separation of families, to impart the consolations of religion—these efforts have been made with sincere good-will, but with very partial and limited success. The crowning act of justice and humanity has at length abolished the system, and slavery is no more; but conscience still cries out for restitution. We approach the throne of mercy,

and supplicate, "Deliver us from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou God of our salvation." "O Lord, to us belongeth confusion of face, to our kings, to our princes, and to our fathers, because we have sinned against thee. To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses. O Lord, hear! O Lord, forgive!" But with all our pleas and encouragements from the free mercy of a forgiving God, there is still a feeling that restitution should accompany penitence:—"And if I have wronged any man, I restore him fourfold," was not less consistent with the free forgiveness of the gospel than with the equitable requirement of the law. And how can we requite our injured brother? Shall we give blood for the blood that has started from his lacerated flesh? Shall we heap upon him "jewels of silver and jewels of gold," like those of the Egyptians, to pay for centuries of unrequited toil from him and his forefathers? Could this be done, who should name a commodity and fix a price with which to remunerate for lacerated affections, for ties of relationship severed, for hearts broken in anguish, and for spirits driven to despair? Alas! alas! what an accumulation of irremediable evils has the sin of slavery inflicted and entailed. Yet though what is past cannot be recalled, and, in thousands of instances, individual injury can never be repaired, we have in our hands the means of national remuneration; we possess that invaluable boon, the Bible, a knowledge of the way of salvation by Jesus Christ. Let us impart this boon to the negroes, and teach them to read and understand it: thus we may put them in possession of a treasure that can make them rich indeed, that can more than compensate for all their past privations

and hardships, that can confer an elevation more than corresponding with the degradation inflicted by slavery; and that shall not only be to them an individual blessing, but shall qualify them to go back to Africa, and there diffuse the blessings of civilization and christianity. To effect this glorious object ought to call forth the most strenuous and persevering exertions of christian philanthropy.

A Sketch of the Attempts already made to evangelize the Negroes.

The Moravians, or United Brethren, appear to have taken the lead in the labour of love. The origin of this mission was attended with circumstances singularly interesting. Count Zinzendorf, a pious young Danish nobleman, being in Copenhagen, in the year 1731, to attend the coronation of Christian VI., king of Denmark, some of his servants became acquainted with a negro—apparently a christian negro—named Anthony. This man told them much of the miseries endured in the island of St. Thomas, and of the ardent desire of many, especially his own sister Anna, to be instructed in the way of salvation. This relation deeply affected the count, who had long felt a concern for the salvation of the heathen, and had expressed his hope that the brethren would one day have it in their power to proclaim the gospel to Laplanders, negroes, and Greenlanders. On his return to Herrnhut, in Saxony—where he had founded a colony of the Moravian brethren, and which is the principal settlement of that peaceful, industrious, and pious people—he mentioned among them the circumstance which had so powerfully impressed

his mind. Shortly afterwards the negro Anthony obtained permission to visit Herrnhut, and repeated his relation to many of the inhabitants, but added, that the labours of the negroes were so incessant that they could find no leisure for religious instruction, unless their teacher himself should become a slave for the purpose of instructing them during their daily employment. This representation roused the zeal of the brethren, and they determined that no obstacles, however seemingly insurmountable, should deter them from making the attempt. Two young men, named Leonard Dober and Tobias Leupold, publicly avowed their resolution to go to St. Thomas's, and even to sell themselves as slaves, if they could find no other way of access to the negroes, in order to preach the gospel to them. Tobias Leupold repeated, in writing, his request for permission to go to St. Thomas's; and while his letter was read to the congregation, two others formed the resolution of offering themselves to go to Greenland. Such was the origin of the missions which, under great hardships and discouragements, have been carried on by that self-denying people to the present day. A very brief sketch of those to the negroes alone comports with the design of this work.—Leonard Dober, accompanied by a brother, named David Hitchman, proceeded to the island of St. Thomas, where they found out Anna and Abraham, the sister and brother of Anthony, who received the testimony of salvation by grace through faith in Jesus, with heart-felt joy. Other negroes soon visited them, and earnestly begged for instruction. The eagerness with which the poor slaves listened to the word of salvation amply reconciled the

missionaries to the hardships and poverty they had to endure. The mission sustained various changes, by the death or removal of missionaries, and the succession or reinforcement of others; and also from insurrections in the island, perils by sea, and the prevalence of disease among them. However, in the course of four years from the commencement of the enterprise, upwards of two hundred negroes attended, and received religious instruction. The benign influence of the gospel was evidenced in the altered character of those who received it. This was acknowledged by several proprietors, who were thereby induced to favour the missionaries, and assisted them in purchasing a plantation on which to settle. Probably the first fruits of *negro slaves* were three men added to the church by baptism on August 30, 1736.

Adversaries soon arose, who opposed the work in every possible way, first forbidding the slaves all intercourse with their teachers, and then by false accusations, procuring the imprisonment of the missionaries. But the word of the Lord was not bound; the awakened negroes continued to meet together to their edification, and sometimes assembled in great numbers under the windows of the prison, where they joined in singing and prayer. As it was with the apostles of old, "the things that happened among them fell out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel; so that the brethren in Christ waxing confident by their bonds, were much more bold to speak the word without fear." Negro converts rapidly increased; while persons who had been opposers and maligners, were either silenced or brought to repentance, and the suffering missionaries were emboldened to persevere and

triumph in the Lord. They were at length released by the governor, on the intercession of Count Zinzendorf, who visited the island. On the return of this nobleman, the negroes sent by him a petition to the King of Denmark, and the negro women one to the queen, praying that they might have liberty to be instructed in the christian religion. In consequence of these petitions, and the representations of Count Zinzendorf, an order was passed, securing to the brethren liberty and protection in preaching to the negroes. The simplicity and fervour of these petitions will render them interesting to the reader. They are literally translated.

Petition to the King.

"Most gracious lord king! Now we have hope that your majesty will command that we may continue to learn to know the Lord Jesus. We remain immoveable, if it please God our Lord; though we are greatly oppressed by men who come and beat and cut us when massa teach us. They burn our books, and say, 'the negroes must not be saved; a baptized negro is fit fuel for hell-fire.' They have put the brethren whom God has sent to us, and who are the only survivors of twenty, for three months into the fort, and now they intend to expel them from the country. They all appeal to your majesty, and say, You had forbidden that the negroes should be made acquainted with our Saviour, and would shortly send Massa Martinus away. But we do not believe this; and we pray your majesty to permit us to be instructed in the knowledge of the Lord, and remain in connexion with the brethren's church; for we wish to

go with them to our Saviour. We will be obedient to our masters in all things; we only wish to send our souls to heaven to the Lord Jesus. Formerly we have defrauded our masters, stolen provisions, run away, and been idle. But now things are very different, as the masters themselves very well know. Many a negro, for his wicked deeds, has resolutely suffered his hands and feet to be cut off. We will cheerfully put our necks under the axe for the Lord Jesus and his congregation, if our masters, as they say, will kill us. God the Lord bless our most gracious king a thousand times.

"Written in St. Thomas's the 15th of February, in the name of more than six hundred and fifty scholars of the Lord Jesus, who are instructed by Massa Martinus. Signed by Peter, and three other native assistants."

Petition to the Queen, written by Magdalene, one of the female assistants.

"Great queen! when I was in Papaa, in Africa, I served Mr. Mahew; now, when I have come into the land of the white people, they will not suffer me to serve the Lord Jesus. The white people will not obey him, and they may do as they please; but when the poor black brethren and sisters wish to serve the Lord Jesus, they are looked upon as maroons (run-away negroes). If it seemeth good to the queen, may your majesty pray to the Lord Jesus for us, and pray likewise the king, that he may permit Massa Martinus to preach the word of the Lord, that we may learn to know the Lord, and that he may baptize us negroes. The Lord preserve and bless you, together with your son, and daughter, and the whole

family. I shall not cease praying to the Lord Jesus for you.

"Written in the name of more than two hundred and fifty negro women who love the Lord Jesus."

But we must be more general in recording the labours of this indefatigable and self-denying people. Suffice it to say, that within ten years from the first missionary impulse among them, as above related, missionaries were sent to St. Thomas's, St. Croix, Surinam, Berbice, to the negroes in South Carolina, to Guinea, to the Cape of Good Hope, and Ceylon. Since that time their missionaries have also been sent to the islands of St. Jan, Jamaica, Antigua, Barbadoes, St. Kitt's, (or St. Christopher's,) and Tobago. All of these have a distinct bearing on negro instruction. The success attending their efforts has been various: their hardships have been very similar; such as perils and loss of lives and property by sea-voyages and land-hurricanes; excessive toil, and privations in inhospitable regions; mortality, from insalubrious climates and epidemic diseases; the opposition of selfish masters to the christian instruction of their slaves; and, in some instances (as above) misrepresentation and false imprisonment. They have, however, been distinguished by an untiring zeal and devotedness to their great work, and by such humility and prudence as have done much to disarm opposition. To give some idea of their labours, sufferings, and successes, the following statements are subjoined.—In South America, from the beginning of the mission in 1735, to the commencement of the present century, a period of 65 years, 159 missionaries (male and female) had been employed, of whom

75 had died in the country, 63 had returned to Europe, and 21 were still actively employed on the different stations in Guiana. During that time 1645 persons had been received into fellowship with them. Of this number 855 were Indians, 59 free negroes, and 731 negro and mulatto slaves; 685 had died in the faith of the gospel, 594 were still living and enjoying the instructions of the missionaries, and 393 had forsaken the fellowship of the believers.

In 1782, 50 years from the commencement of the missions to the West Indies, the event was celebrated as a sort of jubilee, with solemn joy. It then appeared that during that period 127 missionaries, and their assistants, wives, and children, had died; that 8833 adult negroes had been received into christian fellowship, of whom 2974 had died. This statement relates to St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan.

In 1826, the Moravians, or United Brethren, had 8 missionaries in Antigua, 2 in St. Domingo, 5 at three stations in Jamaica, 1 in Barbadoes, and 24 whose labours were divided between St. Kitt's, St. Thomas, St. Croix, St. Jan, and Pasamaribo. In each of these islands flourishing missionary stations subsist to the present time.*

A mission was begun in Jamaica in 1754, under very promising auspices. A number of the proprietors having expressed a wish that their slaves should be instructed, these gentlemen furnished

* Besides those to the North American Indians, to Lapland, Tartary, Algiers, to Persia, Egypt, Labrador, Tranquebar, and the Nicobar islands, which do not immediately come within the design of this volume.

a house and land for the missionaries, and encouraged their negroes to attend the preaching of the gospel, allowing them the necessary time and liberty, and but little opposition was manifested. In the course of the first year the negro hearers increased to about 800, and so many of the white people also attended, that it was found necessary to hold separate congregations. In this prosperous state the mission continued for two or three years, but afterwards experienced considerable fluctuations: the work has, however, gone on, and at the present time many hundreds of negroes are under the instruction of the brethren. The number of married missionaries is nine; they have seven stations. In the insurrection of 1832 they shared, in some degree, the obloquy of their brethren; one of them, named Pleifer, was tried by a court-martial, and acquitted.

Antigua was first visited in 1756. For several years the progress of the work was rather slow; but in course of time the Lord gave testimony to the word of his grace: many negroes embraced the christian faith, not only in outward profession, but to the saving of their souls, as they evidenced by their stedfastness and consistency in life, and their composure and triumph in the prospect of death. There are at present on this island twelve married missionaries,* who minister the word of life at five different stations.

The next island to which the brethren directed their attention was Barbadoes. Two went thither in 1765, but one of them almost immediately

* The wives of the missionaries are very active in the instruction of females and children, and in humane attention to the afflicted.

after departed this life, and the other quitted the cause; a third who followed, was very soon numbered with the dead. Hence the undertaking was suspended till 1767, when the work was resumed, and the gospel, under the power of Divine grace, found its way to the hearts of sinners. After many peculiar struggles, the mission remains to the present day. This island has been repeatedly visited with dreadful hurricanes, and has been the seat of formidable insurrections among the slaves. In the former the lives of the missionaries were mercifully spared, and in the latter they had the satisfaction of knowing that none of the negroes belonging to their church had joined the rebels. The present number of married missionaries is three.

St. Kitt's. A mission here was begun in 1777. The missionaries were countenanced by most of the planters, and some of the negroes believed, and were added to the church. The seed of the word sown in this island was less rapid in its growth than in some other places; for in seven years the converts scarcely exceeded forty; but the fruits were generally abiding, and exhibited a pleasing degree of maturity. After some time a larger chapel became necessary, towards which the negroes contributed considerably, both by personal labour and pecuniary assistance. It may be uniformly regarded as a good sign of the success of the gospel, when people are not only willing to receive the preachers, and listen to their instructions, but are concerned to exert themselves in maintaining and perpetuating it. The zeal of these negroes proved a token for good, and the chapel reared by their endeavours formed an object of attraction to many of

their brethren. The chapel was crowded with attentive hearers, and on the Lord's day large companies were standing outside and devoutly listening to the words of eternal life. The number of those who from the heart believed on the Saviour was continually increasing, and in a few years amounted to two thousand five hundred. In later years, some diminution in the congregation of the brethren had been experienced, but of this they spoke not in the language of complaint, as it was principally traced to the increasing exertions of other christian denominations in the same noble work, by which the gospel has been more widely extended than it could have been had the labourers been confined to one denomination only. There are at present on the island five married missionaries, and three stations.

Tobago was visited by the missionaries from Barbadoes in 1789. This island displayed a singular feature—that of masters desirous of the christian instruction of their slaves, and the slaves themselves indifferent to it, or attending rather in compliance with the wishes of their masters than from a personal sense of duty and privilege. Comparatively little good resulted; and from the unsettled state of the island, the death of several missionaries, and some of the proprietors who had been the chief supporters of the mission, together with other discouraging circumstances, the station was ultimately given up. It was resumed in 1827, and two married missionaries labour there to the present time.

The mission to the negroes in South Carolina was but short lived. At the request of the trustees of Georgia, two brethren were sent thither in 1739, but one of them died the year following, and, on

account of various difficulties and impediments thrown in the way, the other returned into Pennsylvania, and the undertaking was relinquished.*

In Guinea a mission was commenced in 1737. Christian Protten, a converted mulatto from Guinea, who visited Copenhagen, and became acquainted with Count Zinzendorf, offered to go as a missionary to his native country. He accordingly went, accompanied by a christian brother. The latter died soon after his arrival; the former continued

* Is Carolina still a slave state? and if so, what are American christians doing, either for the emancipation or the christian instruction of the slaves? Are the following *unchristian* edicts still in force, or are they obsolete and abrogated?—"South Carolina, 1740. Whereas, the having of slaves taught to write, or suffering them to be employed in writing, may be attended with great inconveniences, be it enacted, that all and each person and persons whatsoever who shall hereafter teach, or cause any slave or slaves to be taught to write, or who shall hire or employ any slave as a scribe in any manner of writing whatsoever, shall for every such offence forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds current money." It is enacted in Georgia, that if a white teach a slave, free negro, or person of colour, to read or write, he shall be fined not exceeding 9500 dollars, and imprisoned at the discretion of the court. If a slave, free negro, or coloured person teach any other slave, free negro, or coloured person, he shall be fined and whipped, or fined or whipped, at the discretion of the court. (Imprisonment would not suit so well in the case of a slave, because it would be depriving the master of his time.) In North Carolina, by the statutes revised in 1830-1, to teach a slave to read or write, or to sell or give him any book or pamphlet, is punishable with thirty-nine lashes, or imprisonment, at the discretion of the court, if the offender be a free negro, and with a fine of 8200 dollars if a white. The reason set forth in the preamble is, that "teaching slaves to read and write, tends to excite dissatisfaction in their minds, and to produce insurrection and rebellion!!"

to labour, but apparently with little or no success. At a later period fresh attempts were made to establish a missionary settlement; but from the unhealthiness of the climate, Europeans died almost as soon as they could begin their work, and after the loss of many valuable lives, the attempt was abandoned. But negro emancipation opens the dawn of a brighter day to Guinea; though European missionaries cannot endure the climate, native Africans can, and the liberated negro who was brought in bondage to Europe, to learn the gospel of salvation, shall, fired with patriotic and christian zeal, go back free to proclaim among his countrymen in their own tongue, the wonderful works of redeeming mercy.

In 1740 attempts were made by the brethren to convey the gospel to Ceylon. Two missionaries were sent thither, but they were bitterly opposed by the Dutch clergy, who ultimately succeeded in driving them away, though not until they had the satisfaction of witnessing some fruit of their labours; not exactly among those who were the immediate objects of their mission, but they were honoured by God as instruments of rousing from the sleep of carnal security many nominal christians, and leading them to saving faith in Christ Jesus.

The baptist denomination appears to have been next in the field of missionary enterprise; and it is a most interesting fact that the first preacher of this denomination in the West Indian islands was himself a negro slave! Stolen from the land of his forefathers, and carried in a slave-ship to America, (the land of freedom!) he there endured the toil of hopeless slavery. But there, from the descendants of some of those who forsook England

because they could not enjoy religious liberty, from them he first heard of "Christ Jesus and Him crucified." The news reached his heart and regulated his life. Being now impelled by the influence of the Holy Spirit, with an ardent desire to do good, and, on account of his skin, not being permitted to do that in America, he worked, until at length, by some means, he obtained his freedom, and got a passage to Jamaica. There, amidst trials unequalled, trials that will not be revealed till Jamaica gives up her dead, he proclaimed to his enslaved brethren salvation through a crucified Redeemer. It is painful, and, at the same time interesting, to state that the first chapel erected for the accommodation of the people thus gathered, was built solely on Lord's days. The slaves at that period had no time which they could call their own except the sacred day of rest; and while others devoted the hours of leisure to repose, or worldly gain, or dissipation, those who had been brought to love the Lord Jesus, consecrated it to building a house to the honour of his name in which to meet for his worship.

As they laboured, they sang the praises of God; while they worked, their instructor preached; and thus the first baptist chapel on the island was erected. When first missionaries of this denomination from England visited the island, early in 1814, they found the good old man surrounded by a congregation of five or six hundred persons. He lived several years after this, and died in a good old age, triumphing in redeeming love. Mr. Knibb (who went to Jamaica in 1825) had the pleasure of knowing Moses Baker, whom he calls "the

apostle from Africa to Africans;" and, amidst the tears and sobs of multitudes of his fellow-countrymen, committed his remains to the tomb.

In 1780, or thereabouts, Mr. George Lile, a black person, connected with the baptists in Georgia, left America on account of the war with England, and went to Jamaica. From 1783 he preached in and about Kingston, and his labours were evidently blessed to the salvation of souls. Some, yet living, who adorn the doctrines of God our Saviour, were amongst the early fruits of his ministry.

In 1814, Mr. Rowe, the first baptist missionary sent out from England, arrived at Montego Bay, with Mrs. Rowe. Falmouth was the contemplated scene of his future labours. He was greatly distressed at the dreadfully low state of morals, the almost total disregard to religion, and the violent prejudice which he found to prevail. Persons to whom he took letters of introduction received him politely, but gave him little encouragement respecting the work of his mission. The magistrates, also, though they did not oppose his preaching ultimately, recommended him to begin by keeping a school. Unwilling to excite hostility at the outset, he opened a school at Falmouth in April, 1814, and in June following intimated his intention of preaching in his own house. This he did. Several respectable persons attended, and he continued for a time to proceed without interruption. He was afterwards, without any assigned reason, prohibited from preaching; but such was the uniform consistency of his character as to produce in the minds of the chief governor of the parish, and other gentlemen, the fullest conviction of the purity of his

motives, and it was resolved to grant him legal protection, and permit him to resume his public duties; but just as the scene began to brighten, it pleased God, in his mysterious providence, to remove the faithful labourer to his heavenly rest. Prior to Mr. Rowe's death, Mr. Lee Compeer was sent out as a baptist missionary, and settled at Old Harbour, in St. Dorothy parish, with a view principally to the instruction of negro children in reading, and in the principles of the christian religion; but, shortly afterwards, he removed to Kingston, obtained a licence to preach, and became the pastor of a church of about two hundred members. On account of declining health, he was compelled, in 1817, to relinquish his engagement, and most encouraging prospects of usefulness. But perhaps a more clear and concise account of this department of evangelical labour among negroes will be obtained by giving the leading events of the mission in chronological order.

1814. Mr. Rowe at Falmouth.

1816. Mr. and Mrs. Compeer at Old Harbour—death of Mr. Rowe—Mr. Compeer's removal to Kingston.

1817. Mr. and Mrs. Coultart sent out. Mr. Compeer obliged to leave on account of ill health. Mr. Coultart succeeded him over an increasing and prosperous congregation at Kingston; also established a school. Death of Mrs. Coultart. Mr. Coultart, in consequence of impaired health, obliged to return to England for a time.

1818. Two new missionaries, Messrs. Kitching and Godden, sent out. Mr. Kitching appointed to take charge of Mr. Coultart's church during his absence.

1819. Mr. Godden settled at Spanish Town, and great interest excited. Death of Mrs. Godden, and of Mr. Kitching.

1820. Return of Mr. Coultart. The church at Kingston greatly increased, and by great exertions among the people themselves, together with assistance obtained from friends in England by Mr. Coultart, purchased premises and erected a commodious chapel.* Mr. Godden formed a church at Spanish Town. His dwelling-house and chapel burnt down; the fire supposed to have been the work of an incendiary. Other premises obtained, and a chapel erected in a more eligible part of the town. Subordinate stations commenced.

1822. A missionary sent from the church at Kingston to another part of the island. Mr. Vaughan, a proprietor, on whose estates the venerable Moses Baker (now disabled by age and infirmity) had long taught, applied for a suitable person to instruct the negroes, and also engage in some secular employ; Mr. Tripp (a carpenter) was sanctioned by the society: he entered upon this service. He laboured with success until the death of Mrs. Tripp, when, on account of his family, he returned to England. Mr. and Mrs. Tinson sent out, with a view to settle at Manchioneal, in St. Thomas's in the East. Mr. Tinson's desire to preach opposed by one magistrate solely from a dread lest "the parish should be inundated by sectaries." Mr. Tinson settled over a second church at or near Kingston. Preaching commenced by the missionaries at a private house in Port Royal.

* Opened in January, 1822; capable of containing two thousand persons.

1823. Mr. Thomas Knibb arrived from England. He was appointed to superintend a school connected with Mr. Coultart's church at Kingston, and frequently preached both there and at Port Royal. This eminently faithful, zealous, and energetic man, during the short period of his labour among the negroes, was indefatigable and successful, both in the school and in the pulpit. Three new missionaries sent out to Jamaica, Mr. James Phillippo, Mr. Ebenezer Phillips, and Mr. Thos. Burchell.

1824. Mr. Godden obliged to return to England an account of ill health, and died November following. Succeeded at Spanish Town by Mr. Phillippo. Mr. P. for some time prohibited from preaching, but at length the restrictions taken off, and his ministry blessed, to the great increase of the church and congregation. Mr. Knibb died after three days' illness, and his widow a few months afterwards. Mr. Phillips temporarily stationed at Kingston during the absence of Mr. Coultart: afterwards commenced a new station at Annotto Bay. Mr. Burchell succeeded Mr. Tripp at Crooked Spring, under the patronage of the Hon. W. Vaughan, and afterwards formed a church at Montego Bay, about three miles distant, over both which he presided with great success. He also commenced one or two other stations. A wealthy proprietor in Westmoreland, who was friendly to religious instruction, on condition that a missionary should be settled on his estate, offered premises at not more than one-third their value, which were purchased by the society; and here, too, Mr. Burchell laboured, until, in 1826, he was compelled by ill health to visit England.

1825. Mr. William Knibb succeeded his brother in the school at Kingston, which greatly prospered. He also became pastor of a newly-formed church at Port Royal. The church at Annotto Bay, under Mr. Phillips, very flourishing; but the career of Mr. P.'s diligent, faithful, and successful labours closed by death. Mr. and Mrs. P. both died of fever within two days of each other.

1826. A new school-house built on the mission premises, East Queen Street, Kingston, for Mr. Knibb's school, which soon increased to upwards of three hundred scholars. Three new missionaries arrived in Jamaica, Mr. James Flood, who succeeded Mr. Phillips at Annotto Bay, and laboured also at Mount Charles, where he resided. Mr. James Mann went to Montego Bay, to supply the place of Mr. Burchell during his absence on that and other stations. Mr. Mann very much beloved, and very useful. Mr. Burchell on his return found the churches both at Montego Bay and Crooked Spring in a very pleasing and prosperous state, the meetings for worship well attended, and the members walking in peace and brotherly love. Mr. Baylis went to Spanish Town to assist Mr. Phillippo, and superintend a school connected with that station.

1827. Mr. Burchell returned from England, having appealed to the British public, and obtained the means of erecting a suitable place of worship at Montego Bay, which was soon afterwards accomplished. Mr. Tinson's church and congregation, which had met in an old dilapidated building about a mile from Kingston, removed into the city, and settled in eligible premises; the church consisting of two hundred and eighty-two

town members, and about two hundred living on different estates in the country. Mr. Coultart again visited England, partly on account of the dangerous state of Mrs. C.'s health, and partly with a view to seek aid for the public schools connected with his society. Mr. Flood removed to Kingston to supply Mr. Coultart's church during his absence. A church formed at Mount Charles, of which Mr. Baylis became pastor. A new missionary, Mr. Joseph Burton, sent out; appointed, on his arrival, to relieve Mr. Flood, at Kingston, by superintending the church there until the return of Mr. Coultart. Mr. Flood removed to Annotto Bay, intending to give his whole attention to that portion of the mission. The Divine blessing prospered his labours, and he soon extended his sphere of operations by opening a new station at Charlestown, about ten miles distant. On Mr. Coultart's return, Mr. Burton removed to Port Maria; while there he commenced two subordinate stations, at Oracabassa and Bray Head, and purchased premises for the erection of a place of worship, and a missionary dwelling-house. This year the missionaries met in Kingston, and gave an account of their several stations. There were at this time eight churches in the island, comprehending 5246 members: the clear increase during the previous six months amounting to 721.

1828. A new station formed at Falmouth, the principal town in the parish of Trelawny, about twenty-two miles east of Montego Bay, and having a slave population amounting to 26,000, many of whom had been in the habit of attending places of worship as distant as Montego Bay and Crooked Spring. Mr. Mann was stationed here, and had

much satisfaction and success in preaching the gospel, as well as in witnessing the happy results of seed sown fourteen years before by Mr. Rowe, the first baptist missionary who settled there, and whose labours were closed almost as soon as commenced. A church was now formed, of which Mr. Mann became the pastor: he also obtained a licence to preach the gospel at Ridgeland, the estate above mentioned in Westmoreland, around which the negro population amounted to 50,000. This year an association was formed to assist the Baptist Missionary Society in extending the sphere of its operations throughout the island, and especially in providing for the supply of stations left destitute either by the absence or death of their ministers. Mr. Tinson visiting America and England for the benefit of his health: his station at Hanover Street, Kingston, supplied by Mr. Baylis.

1829. Mr. Taylor, previously resident in the island, joined the baptist missionaries, and being accepted by the Society, was ordained, and took charge of the church at Old Harbour; and shortly after opened another station at Hayes Savanna, where a church was formed, and both proved equally prosperous. Mr. Knibb, on account of ill health, being compelled to relinquish his school at Kingston, transferred the whole of his time and labours to direct missionary work: he left Port Royal, and proceeded to Savanna-la-Mar, of which church he took charge, in connexion with Ridgeland. In consequence of Mrs. Coultart's ill health, Mr. C. removed from Kingston to Mount Charles to superintend that station, in connexion with a subordinate one commenced by Mr. Baylis, at

Zion's Hill; Mr. Baylis removing from that place to Port Maurice, which Mr. Burton left to succeed Mr. Coultart, at Kingston. Three new missionaries, with their wives, arrived in the island; Mr. Cantlow, who took charge of Crooked Spring church, when Mr. Tinson resumed his charge at Kingston; Mr. Clarke, who took the school in Kingston, which Mr. Knibb had left, and also the church at Port Royal; Mr. Nichols, who was afterwards appointed to take charge of two stations about that time transferred from another missionary society, namely, St. Ann's Bay and Ocho Rios. Two new stations also commenced by the indefatigable Mann, one at Rio Bueno, another at Stewart's Town.

1830. Death of Mr. Mann, under whom the church at Falmouth had greatly increased, and the gospel been extended to other districts. Mr. Knibb became his successor, and was similarly favoured in witnessing and promoting the prosperity of the cause. A new station opened by Mr. Tinson, at Gallerts, nineteen miles from Kingston.

1831. Mr. Francis Gardner arrived from England, and succeeded Mr. Knibb at Savanna-la-Mar and Ridgeland. Mr. Josiah Barlow, who came to the island in a medical capacity, having connected himself with the missionaries, was gradually brought forward to render occasional assistance, and at length was induced to resign the medical profession, and take charge of the school in Kingston, and to supply the church at Mount Charles, which had frequently been left destitute. Mr. Burton, who had visited England, on his return proceeded to Manchioneal, in St. Thomas, where the society

had long been desirous of stationing a missionary. He was received with gladness by the neighbouring poor, who were hungering for the word of life, and entered on his labours with considerable encouragement, though not without difficulties. This year an association of the missionaries was held at Falmouth and Montego Bay, when it appeared that the number in communion with the several churches amounted to 10,838; being a clear increase, during the last year, of nearly two thousand. At this time, two missionaries were ordained, namely, Mr. William Whitehorne, a native of Jamaica, who had been educated in the law, but becoming deeply impressed with the concerns of religion, was desirous of relinquishing his legal profession, and devoting himself to the christian ministry. He connected himself with the baptist missionaries, and was settled over the stations at Rio Bueno and Stewart's Town: the other, Mr. Abbott, was a native of England, and had come to Jamaica on account of his health, which required a warmer climate. Finding the climate very congenial to his health, he entered on a commercial engagement, but after some time relinquished a lucrative employment that he might engage in preaching the gospel. He was appointed to the stations at Lucea and Green Island, which had been commenced by another society, which now relinquished its mission in Jamaica. This year Mr. Cantlow was obliged to leave on account of his health. His absence was providentially supplied by Mr. Kingdon, who having studied for the ministry, was in Jamaica for change of climate, and was induced to remain and superintend Mr. Cantlow's charge until his return. Mr. Kingdon,

however, was obliged to leave in about three months; but afterwards returned, and is now labouring as a regular missionary. This year the missionaries were called upon to mourn over the loss of a promising coadjutor, Mr. John Griffiths, who was only permitted to look on the field of labour, and then called away to the mansions of the blest. Within nine days of his arrival he died of yellow fever. Mr. John Shoveller also was sent out to take charge of the church in East Queen Street. His health was good, his services eminently acceptable, his usefulness great, and his prospects most encouraging, but he was removed by death within a few months of his arrival.

This year Mr. Burchell was compelled to visit England for a short season, leaving his church at Montego Bay principally under the care of Mr. Gardner, with the assistance of Messrs. Knibb and Kingdon; Mr. Abbott taking charge of the Gurney's Mount church. Mr. Burton having formed a church at Manchioneal, opened also a station at Mount Bay, about thirty miles distant. Mr. Clarke having resigned the school in Kingston, in which he was succeeded by Mr. Whitehorne, went to reside at Port Royal, that he might give his whole attention to that and to two subordinate stations at Port Henderson and Musquito Point. Mr. Nicholls extended his labours to Brown's Town, a settlement in the interior, where he met with great encouragement, obtained premises, which he opened for religious worship, and formed a church. Mr. and Mrs. Phillippo were obliged to leave on account of health; but notwithstanding the diminution of labourers, great prosperity attended every department of the mission.

Large additions had been made, or were about to be made, to most of the churches. A new chapel was erected, and about to be opened, at Salter's Hill; other stations were about to be opened; and the time and strength of every missionary were joyfully strained to the utmost in the delightful employment of preaching the gospel to perishing sinners.

But prosperity proved the prelude to persecution. The enmity of a great majority of the white inhabitants against religion was most violent. It had all along been manifested in attempts to prevent the negroes from attending the preaching of the gospel, and, in many instances, in cruel persecution against them, solely on the ground of their religion, whether as discovered in their attachment to religious exercises, or in the influence of religious principles in promoting a higher degree of morality than was consistent with the licentious practices of the white population. This enmity had long been inflamed by the growing success of the missionaries, and only a pretext was wanting to banish out of the island every faithful minister of the gospel, of whatever denomination. At length this pretext was found: a rebellion broke out among the slaves, arising, as we have already seen, from causes wholly unconnected with the missionaries; but the very men who had provoked it by their general cruelty and oppression, and who had rashly, if not designedly fomented it by unfounded rumours, immediately cast the blame upon the missionaries, as Nero cast upon the christians the blame of setting fire to Rome. Resolved on their destruction, they instigated the mob to acts of lawless violence against the chapels, and

assailed the character and lives of the missionaries by legalized persecution and perjury. The particulars of their sufferings and deliverance, and the result, (unlooked for by their enemies,) in expediting the abolition of slavery, have already been detailed. All that is necessary here is a summary of the state of the mission previously to the rebellion, the condition in which it was placed by that event, and the circumstances that have since transpired.

It appears then, that from 1814 to the close of 1831, when the rebellion broke out, the number of missionaries sent out (or at least employed) by the Baptist Missionary Society, was twenty-seven, of whom twenty-three had wives. Eight of the missionaries, and five of their wives, had died. Three had left. Five were temporarily absent, and eleven were in actual service, and Mr. Burchell reached the island in time to share the persecution. The number of stations amounted to upwards of thirty, at most of which places there were commodious chapels, built partly by the voluntary exertions of the negroes, partly by the liberality of christians in England. The number of church members amounted to about 12,000, and the inquirers to about 17,000. It may be calculated that some thousands had died in the Lord, who had been brought into the way of salvation by the instrumentality of the missionaries. Thus they had not been left to labour in vain, nor to spend their strength for nought. The number of negro children under instruction in the school was from five hundred to six hundred. During the disturbances, seven of the missionaries were imprisoned, and some of them tried,

on charges which had not the slightest foundation in truth: their innocence, in every case, was fully established, but their labours were interrupted, which was far more grievous to them than any personal injuries or indignities they suffered. These were Messrs. Knibb, Abbott, Gardner, Burchell, Whitehorne, Nichols, and Barlow. Messrs. Knibb and Burchell came to England, as already related; Mr. Burton, from the unsettled state of affairs, being unable to prosecute his regular duties, and having, indeed, been committed to prison for preaching, visited the Bahama isles, in which he has been ever since actively engaged in spreading the gospel. The other missionaries employed every opportunity in their power of collecting the scattered flocks, and feeding them with the bread of life. To this number were added Mr. Dendy, who landed with Mr. Burchell at the time of the trouble, and Mr. Kingdon, who followed, and both became sharers in the sufferings of their brethren for Christ's sake.

The chapels demolished, some by fire, and others pulled down, were: 1. Salter's Hill,* 2. Falmouth, 3. Stewart's Town, 4. Montego Bay, 5. Brown's Town, 6. Savanna La Mar, 7. Ridgeland (or Fuller's Field,) 8. St. Ann's Bay, 9. Rio Bueno, 10. Hayes Savannah, 11. Lucea, 12. Ohio Rios, 13. Green Island.

In addition to the destruction of chapels, a vast deal of private property was destroyed, belonging

* It is worthy of remark that this chapel had only been used once for divine worship, and on that occasion the missionaries exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent the threatened revolt of the negroes. It was burnt down by white people.

either to the missionaries or their friends, or those who, not otherwise connected with them, had let them premises either for worship or for dwelling.

It has already been stated (p. 533) that redress having in vain been sought on the spot, our government at home, anxious to secure the immediate return of the missionaries, had paid the outstanding debts on the chapels, and promised half the remainder, on condition that the other half should be raised by an appeal to christian liberality. The result of this appeal was to be communicated at a meeting in London, August 7. The sum required was £6,195, but on the winding up of accounts it proved that the contributions fell very little short of £14,000! more than double the sum solicited. "Blessed be thou, Lord God of Israel our father, for ever and ever. Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty; for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine. Thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all; and in thine hand is power and might, and in thine hand it is to make great, and to give strength unto all. Now therefore, our God, we thank thee, and praise thy glorious name. But who are we, and what is our people, that we should be able to offer so willingly after this sort? for all things come of thee, and of thine own have we given thee."

Thus encouraged, the missionaries joyfully bade farewell to their friends in England, and hastened back to their emancipated flocks, to gladden their hearts by their once more beholding their beloved teachers, charged, too, with the means of rebuilding their temples, and freed from every restriction

as to preaching and hearing the gospel. The delight with which they were welcomed, both by their missionary brethren and by their sable charge, under such joyful circumstances, may be better imagined than described. Many touching expressions of negro attachment, gratitude, and fidelity, have been detailed, such as must for ever put to silence, if it had not been done long ago, the base slanders of those who have said that the negro race is destitute of intellect and feeling, and incapable of being wrought upon by instruction or religion. "The missionaries," to adopt the celebrated sentence of a late eminent divine, (the Rev. Richard Watson,) "the missionaries have dived into the mine from which we were told no valuable ore or precious stone could be extracted, and they have brought up the gem of an *immortal spirit*, flashing with the light of intellect, and glowing with the hues of christian grace."

The present state of the baptist mission in this island is truly encouraging. The regular congregations are as numerous as ever; and when it is considered, that formerly the impediments thrown in the way of the negroes' attending public worship rendered it impossible for the same persons to attend constantly, seldom more frequently than alternate sabbaths, and that now they are at full liberty to attend constantly, if so disposed, a privilege of which they seem eager to avail themselves, it may be fairly concluded that the number of actual attendants is almost doubled. The present number of stations is forty-four, of missionaries employed nineteen, besides local helpers.

It has already been intimated that Mr. Burton being restricted by persecution from preaching in Jamaica, entered upon a new sphere of labour in

the Bahamas. This had long been contemplated by the society as a desirable sphere, there having been for many years a considerable number of persons holding the religious sentiments of this denomination, who greatly needed instruction and guidance. Mr. Burton, therefore, with the full concurrence of his brethren, departed thither. He was received with the greatest cordiality, not only by those to whom he specially went, but also by the resident clergymen, and the Wesleyan missionaries, who had been proposing among themselves to suggest to the Baptist Missionary Society the propriety of such a step being taken. The governor, also, Sir John Carmichael Smith, expressed much satisfaction in Mr. Burton's arrival, and gave him the fullest liberty to exercise his ministry throughout his jurisdiction, avowing his thankfulness that any ministers of the gospel would undertake the arduous duty. The prospects are truly encouraging, and this is evidently one of the long series of beneficial results educed by the power and mercy of God from the weak but malignant efforts made to injure his cause in Jamaica.

Mr. Nicholls, another of the persecuted Jamaica missionaries, was appointed to the Bahamas, but, on account of declining health, was compelled to return to England. Mr. Pearson, sent out by the committee, in consequence of the favourable openings presented, laboured zealously and successfully but a very short time, when he was called to enter on his heavenly rest. Mr. Burton was thus again left alone, but was shortly afterwards joined by Mr. Quant, from England, and Mr. Bourne, from Honduras.

This one faithful labourer has long pursued his steady course at Belize, in Honduras. He

went thither in 1822. He had a small church of steady and consistent members, and gradually increasing in numbers, when called to remove to a new sphere of labour. Beside the chapel in Belize, small places of worship have been opened in two different villages, with a sabbath-school attached to each, where the service of God is regularly maintained. Though this is comparatively a small station, very important results may be expected to arise from it on the surrounding negro population. A steady, consistent church of Christ, however small, is like a light shining in a dark place: it will direct, it will attract; and now that slavery, that great bar to the spread of the gospel, is removed from the British settlements, we have every reason to hope that "the word of the Lord will have free course and be glorified."

The General Baptists established three missionary stations in Jamaica in 1826. Such success attended their labours that the erection of large chapels became desirable; but want of funds prevented the attainment of this object; and death, sickness, and other untoward circumstances, ultimately led to the abandonment of this mission; the stations were therefore transferred to the baptist missionaries, and most of the converts joined their churches. Meanwhile, the General Baptist Society has concentrated its energies, and extended its operations in the East Indies, where, under the Divine blessing, great success has attended its labours.

The Wesleyan methodists, at an early period of their history, discovered a noble abhorrence of the detestable system of slavery, and an earnest desire to impart to the injured negroes the consolations of that blessed gospel which alone could render slavery tolerable. Dr. Coke, an intimate

friend and coadjutor of the founder of methodism, repeatedly visited America, where, as in Great Britain and Ireland, he enjoyed a well-deserved popularity, and was blessed with distinguished usefulness; but he saw man oppressed by his fellow-man, and by christians, too, without a feeling of remorse, shame, or conviction of sin. "And that righteous man dwelling among them, in seeing and hearing, vexed his righteous soul from day to day with their unlawful deeds." At length he took occasion to introduce the subject of slavery, and expatiated on its injustice in terms that were not calculated to flatter his auditors. Many were provoked to hear those truths which from their earliest infancy they had been taught to stifle, and which interest still instructed them to conceal. A small party withdrew from the house, and formed a combination to offer him personal violence as soon as he came out. A fashionable lady who was present offered to give the mob £50 if they would seize the preacher and give him a hundred lashes. On leaving the house Dr. Coke found himself surrounded with a ferocious party, who were proceeding to put their threats into execution, but being deterred by the interference of a magistrate and a military officer, they gave vent to their rage in idle imprecations, and suffered the object of their vengeance to escape without further molestation. But rage and hostility were not the only effects produced by this discourse. The magistrate who had protected Dr. Coke began to view the subject in a more serious light, and was so convinced by his arguments that he immediately emancipated fifteen slaves. His example was followed by one or two others, and the subject was at last brought before

the notice of professing christians. At the following conference Dr. Coke prevailed upon its members to sign a petition to the legislative assembly of North Carolina, praying them to pass an act to legalize the emancipation of slaves at the pleasure of their owners. The object of the petition, however, was not obtained.

In Virginia the laws permitted the emancipation of slaves. There again Dr. Coke pleaded with those who held them in unrighteous bondage; and he laboured also to enforce on the negroes the duty of obedience while thus held in bondage. The benefits of his exhortations mutually operated on masters and slaves, but his endeavours were not successful in promoting, on any considerable scale, either the emancipation or religious instruction of the negroes, and he shortly afterwards returned to England.

In 1786 Dr. Coke a second time sailed for America. He had a most perilous voyage; and as it was found impracticable, from the shattered state of the vessel after violent storms, and the scantiness of provisions remaining, to reach America during the winds, it was resolved to alter their course, and proceed with all expedition to the West Indies. This, through the preserving mercy of God, they were permitted to accomplish; and their weather-beaten bark cast anchor in the harbour of Antigua on Christmas-day, 1786.

The arrival of Dr. Coke and his associates in the West Indies may be regarded as laying the foundation of the extensive and successful operations of that religious body to which they belonged. Their doctrines, however, were not wholly unknown even before that important period. Nathaniel

Gilbert, speaker of the house of assembly in Antigua, having been to England for his health, while there was providentially led to hear Mr. Wesley. It pleased God to accompany the word with power to his soul, and he returned to his duties in Antigua, not only with renewed health, but with a heart animated by the love of God, and a benevolent desire for the salvation of sinners. He especially mourned over the neglected condition of the negroes, living without God, and without hope in the world. He collected a few persons together in his house, with whom he prayed, and whom he exhorted to flee from the wrath to come. To preach to the whites was a deed scarcely to be tolerated, but that he should ever descend to proclaim among the slaves redemption through the blood of Christ—this was regarded as a total forfeiture of the dignity of his official character. However, it pleased God to own and bless his labours; sinners, without distinction of colour, were, under his instrumentality, turned from the error of their ways to serve the living God. A church of nearly two hundred members was gathered; but by the mysterious dispensation of Providence, this good man was removed in the midst of his usefulness, and his followers left in a forlorn condition. After many trials and fluctuations, the few who remained of Mr. Gilbert's society were rejoiced by the arrival of one who was to become the helper of their faith. This was Mr. John Baxter, a shipwright, sent by the government of England from the Royal Dock-yard at Chatham, to fill a department in the same line at Antigua. This good man had been for twelve years a member of the

Wesleyan society, and for some time had been employed as a local preacher. On his arrival in Antigua, he found that the negroes awakened by Mr. Gilbert's labours had been kept together by means of two black women, who had continued praying and meeting every night with those who were willing to attend. Mr. Baxter, on his arrival, preached on the Saturday night to about thirty; on Sunday morning to the same number; in the afternoon to four or five hundred; and in a short time his congregation amounted to such a number as filled both the house and the yard. Eight years intervened between the arrival of Mr. Baxter and that of Dr. Coke, during which time the former devoted all the leisure hours which his avocations would allow to the work of the ministry. After a time his hands were strengthened by the arrival of several persons disposed to co-operate with him, in particular a pious emigrant and his family, from Ireland.

In 1783 this little band were enabled to rear a house for the worship of God—the first methodist chapel ever erected in the torrid zone. New places were opened for preaching, which Baxter supplied as far as was compatible with the discharge of his secular duties, and nearly two thousand persons had joined the society prior to Dr. Coke's arrival, and before any regular missions were established; a striking instance of what may, under the Divine blessing, be accomplished, even where few advantages are possessed, if there is a thorough consecration of the heart and soul and powers to the sacred cause.

On the very day of Dr. Coke's landing in

Antigua, he met Mr. Baxter proceeding to the chapel: they were personally unknown to each other, though not by name and character; and a very short interchange of sentiment called forth a congeniality of spirit and an unreservedness of communication. Dr. Coke immediately began preaching in various parts of the island, to crowded congregations; and (like the apostles of old) was laden with many honours, which, however, were as nothing in his esteem compared with the hope of real usefulness. At his request Mr. Baxter relinquished his secular pursuits, and gave himself wholly to the ministry. He continued to labour in various parts with unblemished reputation and eminent usefulness until the year 1805, when he was called to his reward. The inhabitants of the island were exceedingly desirous of retaining Dr. Coke among them: to this he would not consent, for he was intent on spreading more extensively the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom; but he left one of his associates to assist Mr. Baxter, and then prepared to visit several other islands to which he had been invited, and where there appeared the prospect of establishing a mission. They first visited Dominica, then St. Vincent's and St. Christopher's, in each of which islands they were much encouraged by the countenance of influential persons, and by finding some pious characters likely to co-operate in their design. The negroes received their mission with affection and gladness, and, as much as their situations permitted, consorted with some pious soldiers in the barracks, whose society was likely to deepen and mature the impression made on

their minds. At Nevis they could at first find no prospect of a favourable reception; but after-experience does not always confirm first appearances: they were subsequently invited to that island; and later years vital religion flourished there to a greater degree than in those places which at first presented a more promising aspect. The island of St. Eustatius at that time belonged to the Dutch: Dr. Coke and his associates, however, were received there in a manner that excited their most sanguine hopes. A number of free blacks having heard of them from the neighbouring islands, awaited their arrival, prepared a house for their reception, and collected money to defray the expenses of their journey. Such unexpected hospitality of course awakened inquiry, when it appeared that some time before a slave, named Harry, had been brought from America, where he had been led to a knowledge of the gospel, and had united himself to the methodist society. Finding himself, in his new abode, without any spiritual associates, and totally destitute of the means of grace, he endeavoured to supply these defects to the utmost of his power by proclaiming the gospel to his fellow-slaves. The novelty of his preaching attracted a great number of hearers, and among others, on one occasion, the governor of the island, who, approving of what he heard, indirectly sanctioned Harry's preaching, and sheltered him from persecution. But after a time, the effects produced on the negroes by his preaching created an alarm among the planters, and he was forbidden to preach any more, under very severe penalties. It was rather singular that Dr.

Coke arrived on the island the very day Harry was doomed to silence.

After some time, though he no more presumed to preach, he again ventured to pray with his associates, which he did not conceive to be a breach of the orders he had received. In this, however, he was mistaken; he was apprehended, cruelly whipped, then imprisoned for a time, and afterwards banished the island. He bore his sufferings with christian fortitude and meekness. At the close of his imprisonment he was secretly removed, and the place of his cofinement remained for ten years an impenetrable secret; nor was it thought that it would ever be developed until the sea should give up its dead. But in the year 1796 Dr. Coke visited the American continent, and there met with Black Harry, alive and well, and free. He informed the Doctor that the ship in which he was transported from the island had brought a cargo of slaves to the continent, where he had since resided, without being exposed to the brutality he had experienced in former years. His piety and zeal appeared to have remained unshaken by changing circumstances and lapse of time, and he was highly useful in the society with which he connected himself. To return to St. Eustatius, though many encouraging circumstances presented themselves, and the people were more desirous of hearing the gospel than in any other place that had been visited, obstacles were thrown in the way by the government, and no mission could be established on the island at that time.

After this, Dr. Coke proceeded to America, and then returned to England, to report the state of the

several West Indian islands which he had surveyed, and take measures for sending missionaries to those places which seemed to have been opened by Divine Providence.

Having represented the case of these islands, and especially the melancholy condition of the poor slaves, it was determined by the methodist conference that missionaries should be sent as soon as some plan could be devised for their support. The soul of Dr. Coke was so completely absorbed in the importance of the work, that he cheerfully undertook the cause of the negroes, and engaged to travel through the country to represent their condition to the benevolent of all denominations, and actually begged from door to door. In this self-denying course he persevered with great success until death terminated his labours.

In 1788 three missionaries were appointed for the West Indies, in addition to those already employed, and placed under the superintendence of Dr. Coke, who prepared to accompany them thither. They first visited Barbadoes, whence two of the missionaries were despatched to St. Vincent's, one remaining with Dr. Coke, watching for an opportunity of effecting the introduction of the gospel. They found some pious soldiers belonging to an Irish regiment, who had already made some efforts to spread the knowledge of Christ, and had met with encouragement from a merchant named Button, who had provided them with a large room, formerly a warehouse, where they regularly assembled for worship. These favourable circumstances facilitated the way of Dr. Coke and his companion. Several other influential

persons were disposed to favour the design, and permit their slaves to receive instruction. Thus a mission was established in that island among a population of 70,000 blacks, and nearly 30,000 whites; a mission which has maintained its ground, and been instrumental in turning many souls from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God.

Dr. Coke, having arranged as far as possible for the accommodation and exertions of Mr. Pearce, the missionary who was to remain in Barbadoes, left him there, and followed his other friends to St. Vincent's. Mr. Baxter and his wife had already taken up their abode in this island, and deprived themselves of the comforts of civilized life in order to extend the blessings of christian instruction to the Caribs, a large number of whom inhabited the mountainous districts of the island. This benevolent effort was not attended with the success that was desired. The propensities to war and hunting among this savage people render them exceedingly inaccessible to the ordinary methods of instruction: they are not, however, beyond the reach of Divine grace, and some success has crowned more recent efforts of christian benevolence.

Two missionaries, Messrs. Gamble and Clarke, remained in the English division of the island. Dr. Coke and Mr. Lamb next visited Dominica, where they remained five days. Their preaching was blessed to several persons; and as they found some who were already acquainted with the power of the gospel, having attended the means of grace in other islands, before they left they formed a small society, consisting of twenty-four members.

They next visited St. Christopher's and Antigua, where the wilderness and solitary places were made glad, and the desert began to rejoice and blossom as the rose. But at St. Eustatius the iron hand of persecution had been severely laid on the followers of Jesus. Black Harry, as already related, had been found guilty of the crime of praying, publicly flogged, and banished the island; and a law was established denouncing that offence with fines, whipping, confiscation, and banishment! The door was completely shut by persecution against the admission of missionaries; but already the gospel had proved like a little leaven, which was secretly and irresistibly spreading; between two and three hundred persons appeared to have been brought under its influence.

They next visited the island of Saba, which, as well as St. Eustatius, belonged to Holland. There they were joyfully received, and indulged pleasing hopes of success, which, however, were soon frustrated. The governor of St. Eustatius was governor-general of all the Dutch islands, and he no sooner heard that a missionary was about to be stationed at Saba, than he issued orders for his immediate expulsion, with which the governor of Saba was compelled to comply, though with evident reluctance.

The missionaries then proceeded to Tortola and Santa Cruz, in both which islands the prospects were inviting and encouraging. Dr. Coke, therefore, left the only missionary who remained unemployed, to divide his services between those islands, intending himself to visit Jamaica, and ascertain the moral condition of the slaves, in order,

on his return to England, to lay the case before the christian public, and obtain the means of sending forth additional missionaries. The first reception of Dr. Coke in this populous island was highly flattering; and it was his earliest care to provide for the openings which Divine Providence had effected; but persecution and opposition to the spread of the gospel among the negroes were soon manifested. Every effort that ingenuity could devise, or influence accomplish, was employed to prevent them from receiving instruction; yet then, as at a more recent period, God was pleased to carry on his work, even in the midst of persecution. Dr. Coke was successful in procuring the repeal of several persecuting edicts by his representations to the legislature at home; enough, however, remained to hamper the efforts of missionaries of all denominations, until slavery itself was abolished, and slaves were restored to the rank of intelligent and responsible beings.

After revisiting England, and again pleading the cause of the negroes there, Dr. Coke again embarked for the West Indies, accompanied by two missionary brethren, who were to be stationed on such of the islands as should seem to have the strongest claim. Barbadoes, where they first landed, had been the scene of persecution, the missionaries having been attacked by an unprincipled mob, whom the magistrates indirectly encouraged. The methodists were called in derision by the singular name of hallelujah—even the little children in the streets calling them "Hallelujah," as they passed along. Perhaps, through their instrumentality, some who thoughtlessly employed in derision a sacred word, which they

did not understand, were afterwards brought to understand its import, and with understanding and devotion of heart to say, Hallelujah! praise the Lord! Dr. Coke afterwards visited St. Vincent's, Grenada, Antigua, Montserrat, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Jamaica, meeting with various degrees of encouragement; sometimes assaulted and threatened, at others cordially received, and in each place finding that his previous labours and those of his brethren had not been in vain in the Lord.

In 1792 Dr. Coke again visited the West Indian islands, when he found the door still shut against the gospel in St. Eustatius; also that persecution had raged at St. Vincent's, and that Mr. Lamb, the missionary, was then in gaol for the crime of preaching to negroes. But persecution often defeats its own end; even those who were not friends to methodism were indignant at the severity with which an innocent man was treated; and among the negroes a desire to hear the gospel seemed to increase in proportion to the opposition they had to encounter. Several gentlemen of high character and influence testified their respect for Mr. Lamb by visiting him in prison, accounting it no disgrace, but an honour, to do so. Even the magistrates wished and hoped that he would have paid the fine rather than have gone to prison. He, however, resolved to endure the full period of imprisonment rather than voluntarily to concede any thing to a persecuting law, hoping that his constancy might pave the way for liberty to future missionaries. On his release he was compelled to quit the islands. Dr. Coke having visited Nevis, Demerara, and Antigua, returned to England, and presented to his majesty in council a memorial on

the subject of the persecution, which led to particular inquiries on the part of government, as to the conduct of the methodist missionaries, elicited very satisfactory testimonials, and ultimately procured the repeal of the persecuting edict. The indefatigable Dr. Coke made a similar effort with the Dutch government on behalf of St. Eustatius, but it proved unavailing.

A very common plea set up against the preachers and professors of religion is that of disloyalty; a plea which has, however, been successfully refuted, in no instance more strikingly than in that of the pious negroes in the West Indian islands. When apprehensions were entertained of a French invasion, the authorities of Tortola, Antigua, and St. Vincent's, finding their military force insufficient, applied to the Wesleyan missionaries to make out a list of all negroes whom they considered capable of bearing arms, when they were immediately armed and trained for the defence of their respective islands. They conducted themselves in the most orderly manner, and, when directed, repaired peaceably to their former employments. At the capture of Dominica many of the negroes bravely fell in defence of the island; and at St. Vincent's, a plot having been laid among the negroes to rise and murder the white inhabitants, the design came to the knowledge of a pious negro, who communicated it to the missionary. Information was immediately given to government, and the mischief averted. It is not to be wondered at that enlightened members of the British government have been disposed to forward missionary designs. We have a pleasing instance of this in the following letter to Dr. Coke:—

General Post Office, Jan. 3, 1799.

SIR,—I am directed by the postmaster-general to acquaint you, in answer to your letter of the 1st instant, that their lordships have been pleased to permit Mr. James Richardson and Mr. John Stephenson, who are going as missionaries to Jamaica and Bermuda, for the instruction of the negroes, to embark on board the packets without payment of the king's head-money, and I have signified the same to the agent at Falmouth, that he may suffer them to proceed accordingly.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

F. FREELING, *Secretary.*

Rev. T. Coke, City Road.

In 1799 the work in the West Indies had so greatly increased, that twelve missionaries were sent thither in the space of eleven months, and it was reckoned that the converts amounted to eleven thousand, besides many who had departed in the faith. This year Dr. Coke again visited the islands, for the last time. He continued through life the indefatigable friend and advocate of the missionary cause, watching and opposing persecuting colonial laws, travelling about to procure supplies for the missions, encouraging the sending out of able and faithful men, and in every way promoting the sacred cause. At length he was the means of originating a mission to India, and engaged himself to go to Ceylon, accompanied by several other missionary brethren and their wives; but at this interesting juncture it pleased God to put a period to his labours. He died suddenly on the passage, May 3rd, 1814.

The missions among the negroes have ever since been carried on with great zeal and success. The following list shows the date of their commencement:—Antigua, 1787; St. Vincent's, 1787; Barbadoes, 1787; Dominica, 1788; Tortola, 1789; Jamaica, 1789; Bermuda, 1799; Bahama isles, 1801; St. Domingo, 1817; St. Eustatius, 1787; Nevis, 1789; Grenada, 1793; St. Bartholomew, 1797; St. Christopher's, 1787;* Anguilla, 1828; St. Martin's, 1819; Tobago, 1818; Montserrat, 1820; Trinidad, 1809; Demerarà, 1814; Honduras, 1825; Southern Africa, 1816; Western Africa (Sierra Leone), 1811.

A succession of faithful, laborious men have filled these various stations; many of these devoted missionaries have fallen in their holy work, but their labour has not been in vain. Not a year has passed but the gospel, through their instrumentality, under the Divine agency, has proved the power of God unto salvation to hundreds of negroes among whom they have laboured.

* The year 1826 was rendered painfully memorable to this mission by the loss of five of its missionaries, with two wives, and four children, by shipwreck. They were going to attend a district meeting, when a most tremendous storm arose. After struggling many hours with winds and waves, the vessel was wrecked, and of the whole party, one alone survived the heart-rending stroke, which left her a desolate widow, and the Antigua station was mysteriously deprived of all its missionaries. The sufferers were, Mr. and Mrs. White, with their three children; Mr. and Mrs. Truscott, and one child; Mr. Jones (Mrs. Jones was the one who escaped), Mr. Hillier, who left a widow with five children; and Mr. Oke. In the awful moments of suspense and extremity they were enabled to commit themselves and each other to the keeping of a covenant God.

In 1830 the Wesleyan Society had 58 missionaries employed in the West Indies, upwards of 31,000 members, and nearly 11,000 children and adults in daily and Sunday schools; some of them taught to read, but the greater part being limited to oral instruction.

In 1833 the number of members amounted to upwards of 33,000, and more than 8,000 children and adults were taught to read the holy scriptures, in the Sunday, daily, and infant schools connected with this society. The report issued, April, 1834, states that 71 accredited ministers were employed as missionaries in the West Indies, besides catechists and other subordinate agents, having the spiritual care of about 32,000 persons as recognized members, of whom nearly 23,000 were slaves. This number is exclusive of all children and occasional hearers. The schools contained more than 8,000.

The report of the year 1835 numbers the missionaries at seventy-one; but the society contemplates, as soon as practicable, increasing the number to at least one hundred. The aggregate number of members is not given, but they appear to be on the increase. Several new stations, and many new and flourishing schools, have been established.

This society has had to endure its share of persecution for the *crime* of attempting to enlighten the negro mind by imparting a knowledge of the gospel. In addition to the opposition manifested in several parts against the introduction of the missionaries at first, subsequent attempts have been frequently made to impeach them as dangerous and seditious men, and to excite popular fury

against them. In 1823, immediately after the insurrection in Demerara, which issued in the death of the missionary Smith, a most malignant spirit was excited in Barbadoes against the "sectarian teachers," as they were called; at the methodist chapel, Bridge Town, Divine worship was disturbed on two successive Lord's days; and on the following Saturday a paper was handed about, inviting the rabble to meet the following evening, at seven o'clock, at the chapel door, armed with pickaxes, swords, saws, hatchets, crows, &c. Accordingly, about one thousand headstrong fellows did assemble, and began to demolish the building, which, by twelve o'clock, they had completely accomplished, carrying off all the materials, so that at day-break not a piece of wood was to be found near the spot. The library of the minister, Mr. Shrewsbury, was almost wholly destroyed, and he and his wife were obliged to secrete themselves until they could quit the island. It is more satisfactory than surprising to observe, that a larger and more commodious chapel was erected on the spot, to which several persons most actively engaged in the destruction of the former liberally contributed; new interests also were formed, and the work of the Lord was prospered and extended in spite of the opposition of man.

The Wesleyan society, as well as the Moravians, suffered considerably from the hurricanes with which the islands of Barbadoes and St. Vincent's were visited in 1831, both in the destruction of some buildings, and the sweeping away of materials collected for building; but the liberality of friends in Britain soon repaired their losses.

Jamaica has generally been preeminent in opposition to the spread of the gospel and persecution of the missionaries. In 1829 a chapel was demolished in St. Ann's Bay, and three Wesleyan missionaries were imprisoned, — Mr. Grimsdall, Mr. Whitehouse, and Mr. Orton. The former soon fell a victim to persecution. The fetid smell of the dungeon in which he was confined brought on an illness which closed his earthly troubles and his labours of love. The other missionaries suffered severely in health from the same cause. Other efforts were made to prevent or restrict the progress of the mission, but these nefarious endeavours were overruled by the all-wise providence of God, so that the missionaries were honourably liberated, the magistrates who committed them to prison dismissed from their office, and the laws in favour of missionaries explicitly stated and defined by the highest authority. About the same time an attempt was made to establish against the missionaries, of various denominations, a charge of extorting money from the slaves, in connexion with their societies, and of promoting among them practices the most dishonest and flagitious. But malice overshot its mark, and He who sits in the heavens vindicated the character of his servants, bringing forth their judgment as the light, and their righteousness as the noon-day.

Some atrocious instances of persecution against pious negroes, about this time, excited the strongest feelings of British christians. An excellent man, named Harry Williams, had been many years a member of the Wesleyan society, had discovered so much piety, intelligence, and consis-

tency, as to be appointed a class-leader. He had also so commended himself to the owner of the estate, by his integrity and general propriety, that unlimited confidence was placed in him; but the attorney of the estate, hearing of his connexion with the methodist society, charged him with "becoming a great preacher at the methodist chapel," and threatened to send him to Rodney-Hall workhouse. Harry replied that he was no preacher, but that he attended the chapel because there he had got much good to his soul, and learned his duty to God and to his master. He was, however, cruelly treated by severe flogging and confinement, which brought him to the brink of the grave. His sister, also, simply for groaning in sympathy for his sufferings, was severely flogged. The case excited such an interest at home, that a benevolent lady of the Society of Friends kindly engaged to raise the price of his ransom (£200), which she succeeded in doing; and through her benevolent exertions, and the liberality of her friends, Harry Williams, his wife, and children, were all made free. Another good man, named John Williams, for the sin of praying, was actually flogged, by order of a magistrate, so as to occasion his death.

In 1832 the spirit of persecution manifested itself in deeds of the grossest outrage and violence: several chapels of the Wesleyan society were laid in ruins, the lives of the missionaries endangered, and the health of some seriously injured by imprisonment, for no other cause than the alleged offence of preaching the gospel, while thousands of the poor negroes were forcibly deprived of the ordinances of religion. The chapels destroyed

were, Falmouth, St. Ann's, Port Maria, and Oracabessa.

The estimated loss amounted to £2,090, of which [illegible] in the case of the Baptist Missionary society one-half was paid by government, and the remainder readily contributed by the christian public, with a surplus towards extending the means of accommodation. The amount collected exceeded £3,000, and, in addition to rebuilding the chapels, provided for the outfit of eighteen new missionaries.

The missionaries who chiefly suffered in these outrages, were Mr. Box, who was apprehended, as already stated (p. 384), and confined in a loathsome, filthy gaol, five days and five nights, without any comfort which his enemies could possibly withhold from him; but they could not intercept the gracious communications from on high by which his mind was kept in perfect peace, being stayed upon God. Mr. Greenwood was committed to Port Maria gaol for preaching (as was falsely alleged) without a licence. He was dismissed without any indictment being found against him; he, however, repeated his offence (preaching), and was again arrested, and sentenced to pay a fine of £10, which he refused to do, and was again committed to gaol, without bail.

Mr. Rowden was imprisoned for preaching, and was afterwards severely ill in consequence of his confinement. Mr. Murray, on some most frivolous pretext, was forbidden to preach, and was afterwards imprisoned for preaching; and Mr. Barry was fined £20 for the same offence. Mr. Bleby was brutally assaulted by a set of ruffians, who burst into his house, threw tar over himself and infant

child, and attempted to set fire to Mr. Bleby, but were prevented by Mrs. Bleby, who however was hurt in the scuffle. The perpetrators of this act of violence were apprehended, but the grand jury ignored the bill against them. Being "a sectarian missionary," it would seem that Mr. Bleby had forfeited the right of a British subject to protection; but things are otherwise now. Messrs. Whitehouse, Barry, and Duncan, were more or less sufferers in these tumultuous times; but it is an interesting and honourable fact, that though these good men were persecuted for preaching the gospel, which was supposed to have excited the negroes to insubordination, it was proved that those negroes who had been brought under its influence were uniformly the most peaceable and orderly on the island; scarcely any were really implicated in the insurrection, but hundreds, and perhaps thousands of them, faithfully guarded the property of their masters, even at the peril of their lives; and some even died in the cause. Of all these things, it might be justly said, as it was by the apostle of his own sufferings in the cause of Christ—"They fell out rather to the furtherance of the gospel:" and at the present time the gospel is more extensively spreading through the instrumentality of those whom men opposed and persecuted, than at any former period in the history of missions.

The London Missionary Society commenced its operations in the West Indies about the year 1808. Mr. May and Mr. Davis appear to have been its first missionaries. They went to Demerara, where they laboured with great success. In 1811 Mr. Elliott was established at Tobago, and Mr. Adam at

Trinidad. In 1812 some colonial restrictions, which had operated against the religious instruction of the slaves, were taken off by the government at home. In Trinidad £100 was given by the colonial government towards the building of a chapel for Mr. Adam and his congregation; and all the missionaries went on prosperously. The following year Mr. Wray extended his labours to Berbice, whither he afterwards removed. He had been much beloved, and his labours were rendered very useful among the negroes in Demerara; but prejudices against vital religion were observable in some of their masters. They soon began to charge the praying negroes with "preaching," and took offence and alarm at the idea of their being brought too near the level on which the gospel places "Barbarian, Scythian, bond and free." Mr. Wray's station in Demerara was afterwards filled by Mr. Smith, who laboured very zealously and successfully.

In 1814 or 1815 this society sent Mr. Le Brun to the Mauritius, where he was encouraged by government, and permitted to establish a school.

In 1818 the negro converts, in connexion with Mr. Smith, contrived, within nine months, to save from their little pittance £140 towards the erection of a new chapel.

In 1819 we find a Mr. Cross labouring in Bermuda, and such results attending the preaching of the gospel as awakened zeal for the salvation of others. A poor negro, having learned to read his bible, brought the minister forty-five pence, which he had collected among his fellow negroes, and begged that they might be accepted in aid of the Bible and Missionary Society. In Demerara, col-

lections were made in aid of the London Missionary Society, amounting to £80, a considerable part of which was contributed by negroes.

The chapel at Le Resouvenir (Demerara, Mr. Smith) was completed and opened; the people themselves having raised £280. A poor man sent Mr. Elliott six guilders, which he afterwards made up £2, for the missionary cause.

A friend, visiting Demerara on business, was introduced by the missionaries to their converts, and attended a negro prayer-meeting, when, with much fervour and simplicity, they committed him to the care of God for his voyage, and implored the Divine blessing on the labour of missionaries. One of them concluded with the expression, "Blessed Jesus, me not be quite glad till salvation covers de world like de water cover de sea." About four hundred negroes attended public worship, after which one hundred black children remained for instruction; and so much pains had been taken with them by their black teachers, that many, who could not read a letter, yet were able to repeat perfectly Dr. Watts's and other catechisms.

In 1820 an auxiliary missionary society in Berbice raised £35 among one hundred subscribers, persons of colour. The churches were flourishing, and another missionary, Mr. Mercer, actively employed. There were three chapels, viz., Le Resouvenir, George Town, and West Coast; good congregations in each; and many at other stations desirous of obtaining chapels and missionaries.

1821 witnessed the accession of some pleasing converts, and the happy deaths of others. The happy effects of the gospel were strikingly seen in the conduct and habits of the slaves; still, the

missionaries had to lament the influence of the system of slavery in opposing or rendering difficult the consistency of conduct which they expected and desired. We can form little idea of the sacrifices made by a converted negro in obeying the fourth commandment.

1822. The cause still prospering; number of members and inquirers increasing; consistency and christian liberality maintained. Mr. Wray, retracing fourteen years from his last arrival in Demerara, records with gratitude the goodness of the Lord in enabling his servants to surmount many difficulties. "*Then* there was not one place of worship, only a few people assembled at the court-house; *now* there are nine places of worship." Many very interesting cases of success crowned the labours of this year. The missionaries had, however, exceedingly to regret that they were not permitted to teach the negroes to read, especially as they discovered an eager desire after it; and in some instances attained it by their own efforts.

1823. Mr. and Mrs. Dexter went from England to Trinidad. Mr. Dexter laboured diligently and successfully for a time, but his sun went down at noon. He died the following year. This year was rendered memorable by the insurrection in Demerara, which, excited and aggravated, as those insurrections uniformly have been, by the opposition of interested planters to religious instruction, and to the intellectual and temporal advancement of the negro in any way, was, as in most other cases, unjustly charged on the missionaries. Mr. Wray, of Berbice, had been requested (a request with which he readily complied) to lay before the authorities of the place a statement of his plan and

proceedings in the instruction of the negroes, which was approved; and on occasion of the insurrection, and a report that he had privately communicated to the negroes intelligence of importance from England, at his instance, an official investigation was entered into, which issued in his receiving a letter from the fiscal by command of the governor, completely exonerating him from the charge.

The insurrection was chiefly confined to that part of the island on which Mr. Smith resided and taught. Not one negro under the instruction of Mr. Elliott was implicated in the rebellion; yet he was taken into custody, and detained ten days, during which time his papers were taken from his house, though no charge whatever was preferred against him.

The tumult arose on Le Resouvenir (the estate on which Mr. Smith resided), in consequence of an order to take into custody two slaves belonging to an adjoining estate, whom the slaves on Le Resouvenir rescued as they passed over that plantation. Mr. Smith was at home, and on perceiving the tumult he successfully endeavoured to rescue the manager, and continued his exertions to induce the negroes to return to their duty, till he himself was driven away with violence, and with a weapon held to his body. Three days after he was taken into custody, and all his papers seized. He had a guard stationed over him; his friends were not allowed to communicate with him. About two months afterward he was tried by a court martial on a charge of high treason. His health, which was in a precarious state, even before the insurrection, gradually declined during his unjust and

cruel confinement. Meanwhile, Mr. Davies and his family returned to England, and Mr. Wray's chapel, at Berbice, was entirely destroyed by fire. Whether this calamity was occasioned by accident or design did not appear, but the inhabitants, of all colours, and the official persons, most laudably used every exertion to save the chapel, and afterwards to trace the mischief to its source, but in vain.

The charges brought against Mr. Smith on his trial were, those of habitually promoting, as far as in him lay, a spirit of discontent and dissatisfaction in the minds of the negroes against their lawful masters; of consulting and corresponding with a negro named Quamina, on an intended revolt and rebellion, and of aiding and assisting him by advice when the rebellion was in progress, and he knew Quamina to be engaged therein; of suppressing from the proper authorities knowledge of the intended revolt; and of neglecting to secure Quamina after the revolt had commenced. The trial was conducted in a most partial manner, but it was fully evident to every unbiassed mind that Mr. Smith was altogether innocent of the crimes laid to his charge, and that he had uniformly enforced, on christian principles, the duties of submission and forbearance; and especially that, when any rumours of dissatisfaction had reached him, he had used his utmost endeavours to counteract such a spirit. The most honourable testimony was borne to his character and conduct, and the most tender and generous sympathy manifested towards him in his affliction by an excellent clergyman of the established church—the Rev. Mr. Austin. And though for a time prejudice was excited in England against the missionaries, as the

cause of the calamity, the reproach was entirely rolled away; not, however, until the name of John Smith had been added to the list of the noble army of martyrs. Mr. Smith was adjudged guilty of some part of the charges, and sentenced to be hung, but recommended to mercy. Whether or not the tender mercies of a West Indian government would have been extended to him, remains unknown. The sentence of the court was transmitted to the paternal government at home, for his majesty's final decision; but before the answer could be received, death had concluded the sufferings of the persecuted missionary: he died Feb. 14, 1824. "Thus," observed the organs of the society with which Mr. Smith stood connected, in communicating the afflictive intelligence, "has been brought to its present close the tragical scene of persecution, which has been for years preparing in Demerara, against the faithful servants of Christ; and which has at length found its victim in one amongst them, who, for fidelity and diligence, stood in the foremost rank. The finger of truth, guided by the unanimous voice of the christian church, will inscribe on its records the name of JOHN SMITH, as one of its martyrs, in the cause of spreading the gospel of their common Lord, among the enslaved sons of Africa. But the hand of death, in putting a close to the tribulation and sufferings of this martyr, has fixed an immoveable seal on the guilt of the act, by which that issue has been produced. The chains of the prisoner have been broken, not by the act of mercy from his gracious earthly sovereign (though it was extended as soon as the need of it was known), but by the mandate of the King of kings, which has

[illegible] the accusers and the accused, till the day [illegible] shall stand before his throne of judgment, [illegible] the [illegible] decision of that supreme [illegible], to which the groanings of the oppressed have [illegible] their appeal.'

The friends of Mr. Smith in England could not [illegible] for their criminated and condemned missionary, for they never believed that he needed [illegible] on any charge affecting liberty or reputation, [illegible] on any accusation that by the laws [illegible]. He could not have accepted liberty [illegible] of clemency, however kindly [illegible], which would have involved the admission of culpability and barred his legal appeal against the whole proceedings instituted against him. But now that the King of kings had granted him his discharge, both from labour and persecution, it remained with his friends to claim that justice should be done to his memory. The Missionary Society had already petitioned parliament that such injuries might be instituted, and such measures adopted, as might best tend to the revision or rescindment of the sentence passed on Mr. Smith; such measures, also, as should insure needful protection to christian missionaries in all parts of the British dominions, and afford such further relief as should seem meet to the humanity, wisdom, and justice of the house.

After his death they observed, "The object is now somewhat changed; but that justice which cannot be done to the person, must be sought for the character of the martyred missionary." The public voice was raised in concurrence with this sentiment; hundreds of petitions were presented to parliament from different districts; and, on

the 11th of June, a motion was brought before the house by Mr. (now Lord) Brougham, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, representing that this house, having taken into its most serious consideration the papers laid before them, relating to the trial and condemnation of the Rev. John Smith, a missionary in the colony of Demerara, deem it their duty now to declare, that they contemplate with serious alarm, and deep sorrow, the violation of law and justice which is manifested in those unexampled proceedings, and most earnestly praying that his majesty will be graciously pleased to adopt such measures as in his royal wisdom may seem meet, for such a just and humane administration of law in that colony as may protect the voluntary instructors of the negroes, as well as the rest of his majesty's subjects, from oppression."

This proposition was directly resisted on the part of government, but those in office were afterwards convinced of the necessity of pursuing a different course. The decision of the house did not impute the slightest moral or legal guilt to Mr. Smith; neither did it afford the slightest sanction to the proceedings of the governor and court-martial: indeed, its illegality was expressly admitted even by those who were unwilling to pass censure on the persons composing it. The motion was lost by a majority of forty-seven; the minority, however, being greater than any other during that session of parliament. Taking it on the whole, it was a decided, though indirect triumph: the innocence of the missionary was clearly established, the entire illegality and gross injustice of the proceedings clearly demonstrated, and the cause

of christian missions essentially and permanently promoted.

The bereaved widow returned to England with Mr. and Mrs. Elliott, and was cheered by the universal sympathy of christians of all denominations. A liberal provision was secured for the comfort of her remaining days; she, however, did not survive many years the shock which her feelings and her constitution had sustained.

1825. Mr. Wray continued to labour peacefully and successfully in Berbice, and proceeded in building his chapel, for which object £500 had been sent from England.

1826. The island of Berbice experienced a severe shock of an earthquake. The subject was suitably improved, and seemed to produce a deep impression on many. Some affecting instances occurred of the ardent love of negroes to the bible, and their anxious desire to learn to read, or procure persons to read it to them; also, for the aged and dim-sighted to obtain spectacles for that purpose. The reading of tracts was also much blessed; and, on the whole, the missionaries greatly encouraged. The new chapel was opened in June.

1827. Some improvements in the slave-laws, relative to the sabbath, afforded the slaves much better opportunities for attending the means of religious instruction, of which they thankfully availed themselves; and the heart of the missionary was gladdened by crowded congregations, and numerous inquirers, and consistent professors. Mr. Davies, the missionary in Demerara, died this year. The following year Mr. Ketley was sent out as his successor.

1828. The mission at Berbice going on prosperously; a Sunday-school room connected with the chapel raised by voluntary contributions, and assisted by a liberal gift from government of one thousand guilders. Some delightful instances of the power of Divine grace in sustaining through a long and consistent profession of religion, and supporting and animating the soul in prospect of death.

1829. Satisfactory progress both in Berbice and Demerara, but no particular changes seem to have attended the mission for this and some succeeding years. In 1832 we find a new missionary (Mr. Lewis) at Berbice, together with Mr. Wray, extending their labours, and crowned with success in every department. Mr. Ketley, also, in Demerara, carrying out his operations, and meeting with countenance and encouragement from men, and especially the blessing of God. Mr. Scott was this year sent to join Mr. Ketley in this interesting field of labour.

1833. Both in Berbice and Demerara there were evident indications for good; the missionaries had to write of quiet sabbaths, crowded auditories, and need of more missionaries.

1834. In addition to the missionaries formerly employed, we find a Mr. Mirams labouring at Berbice, and all the missionaries reporting the fields white unto harvest, and the need of more labourers to gather in the crop. Two new missionaries entered on their labours in Berbice in 1833, and an appeal was made by the directors to the public to enable them to send out fourteen more missionaries to meet the claims and necessities of the British West Indian colonies, at the

time when emancipation would put it in the power of the negroes to receive their instructions.

1834. Mr. Howe labouring in Berbice. A new station formed. Many planters showing themselves favourable to the instruction of negroes, and encouraging them to attend. Good congregations and flourishing schools in all the stations, as also in Demerara. A very excellent and affectionate letter from the deacons of Mr. Ketley's church, to the directors of the society, soliciting the loan of £400 for enlarging and raising their chapel; the amount required being £1000, of which they had already raised £400, and contemplated paying off the remainder without embarrassment. This year Mr. Rattray was appointed missionary to British Guiana, Mr. Canham to the Mauritius, Messrs. Alloway, Barrett, Slatyer, Hodge, Vine, and Woolridge, to Jamaica. They took their departure at the close of the year, arrived in safety at their destination, and entered on their labours amidst the cordial welcomes of their christian brethren, and with encouraging prospects of usefulness.

The Church Missionary Society has not till recently carried on its operations to any considerable extent in this particular field of labour, though it certainly has not been indifferent to the subject; and it will be recollected that its catechists were among those proscribed by the haughty intolerance of slave-holders, (see p. 370.) The recent happy change in the condition of our negro population has been justly considered by this evangelical body as having brought "upon our nation, not, indeed, a new duty, but a higher degree of facility for the discharge of that duty: and, whatever difficulties may have formerly stood in the way, all must

now concur in acknowledging the plain path to be, freely to communicate to the coloured population of every British colony the blessings of the christian ministry and of christian education.

"The committee of the Church Missionary Society lost no time in bending their attention to this subject. They deeply felt the spiritual debt owing to a long-injured race; and they were anxious, as christians, and as members of the established church, that the liberty conferred upon that vast population should be so effectually accompanied by the blessings of christianity, that this great measure of emancipation might, by its happy results, become a model for other countries."

Having explained the measures adopted or contemplated for the extension of its labours in this department, the society details its present operations in the West Indies.

Jamaica.

"The only catechists at this station from this country are Mr. Stearn and two Messrs. Forbes; but the committee have sent forth, during the last month, one ordained missionary, the Rev. W. K. Betts, and Mrs. Betts, who have laboured several years in Sierra Leone. The committee have set apart, provisionally, for this station, several other missionaries and catechists.

British Guiana.

"At the station of Leguan, Mr. Carter had met with unfavourable circumstances, which had occasioned him to move to another field of usefulness.

Describing the state of the schools under his charge, he mentions,—'Some are going on very attentively in Divine things, and are evidencing that my labours among them are not in vain, by giving up their sins; and some, especially of the adults, by entering into the holy estate of matrimony, which has not been the case till of late.'

"Mr. Armstrong has returned from his station at Bartica Point, with a view to receiving ordination in this country: but his labours are continued and followed up, with much zeal, by Mr. Youd.

"Such is the very brief outline of the society's labours in these regions. It is their earnest hope and prayer to God, that, as He has now said *to the prisoners, Go forth, and to the captives, Show yourselves,* he will also bestow his blessing upon this and every other faithful attempt to impart to them the glorious gospel of the grace of God.

Summary of the West Indian Mission.

Stations		3
Catechists		4
Country-born teachers		3
Schools		13
Scholars:—		
Boys	50	
Girls	40	
Youths and adults . .	70	
Total, including returns which do not distinguish the sexes		675"

The Society of Friends have ever distinguished themselves as the zealous supporters of education. They have liberally assisted missionaries of all

denominations in defraying the expenses of building school-rooms, purchasing books, and employing teachers. They have also, for several years, supported among themselves a society, under the management of a committee of ladies, entitled "The London Central Negro's Friend Society." For some time it combined also the title of "London Female Anti-Slavery Society;" but on the happy event of emancipation the latter title was dropped. Its design has all along been "to promote the moral and religious improvement of negroes and coloured persons, more especially such as reside in the West India Islands." "The children of slaves were considered as having a primary claim on the sympathy and attention of the society: its first and chief concern was to open schools for their reception and the training of native teachers, trusting that prompt and persevering efforts to give a scriptural education to such as are just emerging from the darkness of slavery will be attended with the Divine blessing." In furtherance of these objects, a well-qualified young person was sent to conduct a British school at Spanish Town, Jamaica. Her success exceeded the expectations of the committee. After some time she was married to a gentleman in Kingston. The school, however, continued to prosper, both in number, efficiency, and interest. It is conducted by a respectable and pious female of colour, assisted by two young girls, and superintended by Mr. and Mrs. Phillippo. Since the happy 1st of August, the numbers attending both day schools and Sunday schools have greatly increased, and encouraging prospects opened for the yet wider diffusion of the blessings of education, by

means also of infant schools. The committee urge on their friends the propriety of continuing the subscriptions hitherto raised for anti-slavery purposes, and endeavouring to gain new contributions to bestow on negro education. Missionary societies do not undertake to establish schools; but missionaries mourn over the want of them, or find them most important auxiliaries to their efforts. It must be the work of other societies to carry on the work of education. May the energies of this useful society be unwearied, its resources extended, and its best desires fulfilled. "We desire," say they, "to be made instrumental in raising the character of the sable females of our slave colonies by intellectual and moral culture; best promoted, as we believe, by christian endeavours to impress the great truths of the Bible upon the minds and memories of the rising generation. Before the view of these girls the joys of freedom are doubtless spread out in the bright array of glowing expectation; and much do we desire that this hope may become elevated, purified, and extended from time to eternity, through the grace of our Saviour, 'who gave himself a ransom for all;' that thus being made free indeed, they may have their fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life."

There is also a society, chiefly in connexion with the established church, entitled "The Ladies' Society for promoting the Education and Improvement of the Children of Negroes and People of Colour in the British West Indies." Its labours are directed chiefly to supplying books and other school requisites, and assisting in supporting teachers both of infant and general schools. Considerable

success appears to have attended their efforts. The late happy change of affairs brought on them numerous and pressing applications for aid, and their appeal to public liberality was responded to even beyond their expectations.

The noble grants of the Bible Society, and of the Tract Society, have already been alluded to (p. 536). The Sunday School Union, during the last four years, has furnished books for the use of the negroes to the amount of about £150, in grants of various sums, from two to thirty pounds each; and the Sunday School Society has granted books to the amount of £120.

SECT. XXII.

After this sketch of what has been attempted and effected by christians of various denominations on behalf of the negro race, it may be asked, what proportions do these exertions bear to the necessities of the case?—and it must be replied, that all *the* places of worship, and all the missionaries, and all the denominations of evangelical christians now on the field, are not adequate to the supply of more than one-tenth of the negro population now under the dominion of the British government; *moreover*, that there are still above five millions of human beings held in slavery by christian powers, and who are denied the means of christian instruction! * Where then is the boundary of

* Yes!—"free and independent America" retains in cruel bondage and gloomy ignorance, two millions two hundred and fifty thousand negroes. In the Brazils, there are 2,000,000; in the Spanish possessions, 500,000; under the French, 300,000; and under the Portuguese, Dutch, and Danish, 10,000;—making a total of 5,150,000.

christian duty?—the duty of *British* christians? Can it be found short of the attainment of the following objects?

First, that every one of our negro fellow subjects should have the means of religious instruction placed within his reach, and pressed upon his acceptance,—the preaching of the gospel,—the word of God,—and the ability to read it. Here is work for missionaries, and bible societies, and school societies, and tract societies, and for the supporters of all those and similar benevolent institutions. Shall we say, work for years to come, and for generations yet unborn? We may say so; but in so saying let us not overlook *personal* and *present* obligations. The duty of the present generation is to the present generation. Time is fleeting, and souls are passing away,—and shall the soul of the negro pass into eternity ignorant of the way of salvation—and the soul of the Briton under the guilt of supineness and selfishness? These are solemn questions. May they fasten upon the mind of every reader of this little volume, and lead to the personal inquiry, What service can I render—what sacrifice can I make—to promote the instruction and salvation of the negroes? And then, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor knowledge, nor device in the grave, whither thou goest."

Secondly, that we should employ every means in our power to promote the utter annihilation of slavery, and its concomitant evils, from the face of the world. Britain has nothing to arrogate to herself for having taken the lead in the work of mercy —but rather shame for having so long delayed it—

and gratitude to Him "from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed," that she has at length been aroused and enabled to accomplish it. But the distinction authorizes and requires her to expostulate and remonstrate with those nations that are still living in the guilt from which she has been recently delivered. "Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him." "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." Such appears to be the duty of Britain towards other nations, especially America, to whom she is most closely allied by the ties of affinity, and from whom most is to be expected, on the ground of the prevalence of enlightened and liberal sentiments, and the extensive profession of religion. It has been justly observed, that the course to be pursued has been pointed out to us by experience. "The steady, persevering dissemination of knowledge on the subject—the frequent but well-timed remonstrance, as well with authorities at home as those abroad—the intrepid exposure of slavery in its real character, as odious to man and offensive to God—the calm but resolute denunciation of its supporters—the countenance and protection of its victims—such are the means by which our own eyes were opened, and by which we may reasonably expect, under the Divine blessing, to open the eyes of our neighbours." A deputation has, or perhaps it might more properly be said, several deputations, have already been sent from Great Britain to America, to promote the great object, particularly by lecturing in the principal cities and towns of the free States, upon the character, guilt, and tendency of slavery, and the duty, necessity, and advantage of

immediate emancipation; by employing every christian means to overthrow the prejudice against the coloured classes, which now so lamentably prevails through all the states of America—which operates so far as to exclude any equal intercourse in civil and even religious society—insomuch that *skin* is a test of exclusion, not only from the families and tables of white men, but even from the house and the table of the Lord at which white men meet. It is a well-known fact, that even where christian liberality has attained such a degree as to consent to the admission of sable christians to church fellowship, haughtiness and bigotry still so far prevail as to assign to that class of the community seats perfectly detached from those of their lordly brethren, and even to appoint a different time for administering to them the sacred pledges of interest in Him who has declared his will that "there is now neither Jew nor Greek, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but *all* are *one* in Christ Jesus." Must we go a step farther, and say, that this contemptible prejudice even forbids the bones of an African to repose in the same grave-yard with those of his white brethren? Blessed be God, *there* it must stop,—for the spirits of the sable and of the fair-skinned Christian shall meet and embrace each other, and together cast their crowns at the feet of Him who has alike loved them, and washed them from their sins in his own blood; and in the resurrection morn the bodies of each shall be beautiful and glorious; not as they are assimilated to European or to African mould and hue, but as they are fashioned like unto the glorious body of Christ. The object of the friendly and admonitory visit of Europeans to America, is farther to suggest to the

friends of the negro there, such means as were found conducive to the cause of abolition in this country, and may be found applicable to existing circumstances in that; to seek access to ministers of the gospel of all religious denominations, and to other influential persons, for the purpose of awakening and informing their minds on the subject, and of enlisting their influence in the cause; and finally, for the establishment of union between England and America, and the regular transmission of intelligence, with a view to the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery throughout the world. It is a matter of heartfelt delight and congratulation, that the good cause seems to be rapidly spreading in America. Several eminent men, who were deeply imbued with the unchristian prejudice, have done themselves the honour of acknowledging and retracting their guilty error, and enrolling themselves among the friends and promoters of the equal rights of man.

Thirdly, there is another important object, which we think will be legitimately placed within the range of christian duty—it is that of evangelizing Africa. What else can we do, by way of restitution for the wrongs she has for ages sustained, in the violence and treacheries that have ravaged her coasts, that have annually carried away thousands of her sons and daughters to perish in that den of misery, a slave-ship, or drop into a watery grave,—or else, into a far distant land, to toil unrequited, under a scorching sun and under the lash of a cruel oppressor? We cannot give her back her children of past generations; but when we hear her weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted for her children because they are not, we may say to

her of some that yet remain, and whom she regards as though they were not, "Refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears; for thy work shall yet be rewarded, and thy children shall come again from the land of the enemy; and there shall be hope in thine end, saith the Lord, that thy children shall come again into their own border." Yes—and they shall come back, freighted with a treasure, with which thy gold, and spices, and precious gems are not worthy to be compared. They shall come and teach thee to lift up thy hands to God, and to learn that "God so loved the world, that he sent his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him might not perish, but have everlasting life." The glowing sentiments of the devoted Knibb, in his last, or nearly his last address in England, will form a suitable conclusion to this little memorial of slavery and its abolition.—"While christianity," said he, "has been achieving this victory for the enslaved sons of Africa, it has at the same time been raising up a set of men eminently qualified to fulfil the prediction recorded in the word of God. Those who may be acquainted with Africa, know well that European labourers cannot live there; that however untiring be our personal labours, however energetic our enterprise, there we cannot live; that such is the pestilential influence of the climate, that the European goes there only to wither and to die. But here you behold a race of christians rising up in the house of bondage, trained by God in the school of affliction, and on whom the sword of persecution has rested: they bear on their backs the marks of the Lord Jesus Christ, and thousands of them will bear those marks to the grave, and probably wear

them in heaven. These being trained in the school of adversity, know well the consolations flowing from the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ: that christianity, which found them in sorrow, has now lifted them in the scale of society; possessing an untiring zeal in the service of their Master, they will soon, we trust, be fitted to return to their native country, and there preach salvation through the blood of the Son of God. And who can tell but in the wise arrangements of that providence with which our heavenly Father governs this world, he has permitted our heavy trials to overtake us, not merely that slavery might be destroyed, but that the christian church might be convinced, that, though the colour of his skin were black, the negro would do well to grace the triumphal car of Immanuel when he goes forth to bring home Africa to himself. However imperfectly these people speak your own language, some of them still retain a knowledge of their own; and you know with what facility we catch the idiom of our mother tongue when we return to the land that gave us birth. Here you behold men of untiring energy: the sun may shine upon them in Africa, but it will not hurt them; it is their home: the moon may shed its sickening beams, but it will produce no baneful influence on them; their constitutions, inured to a tropical climate, are not affected by it. Burning with intense desire to promote the glory of God, we trust that numbers of them will soon be found, ready and willing to sail up the mighty streams of their native land, there unfurl the banner of that cross, and compensate Africa for the wrongs inflicted upon its ill-used tribes.

"It is when we connect the results of the

emancipation bill with the promise of our heavenly Father, that 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God;' when we consider that frequently in the school of affliction he prepares some of his most polished arrows; it is when we view these things that our hearts rejoice; that our spirits rise up in holy gratitude to him, that the year of jubilee has at length arrived, and the bondage of the slave is over.

"There are, too, collateral circumstances that tend to elucidate this point. O that some devoted man may be found, that some one would give himself, with all the energy of his soul, and with all the capability of his mind, to this important subject. A short time since a slave ship was wrecked on the coast of Jamaica, and from that ship about one hundred and fifty captives were released. They found a refuge—where? They found it in a baptist chapel, in one of those houses of God which the infuriated whites had not destroyed: they entered at one door slaves, they emerged from the other as free as you. They had just come from Africa; they still know their native tongue in which they were born. We have some who have left the same country forty years, who know the English language pretty correctly. Now, if some devoted men would give themselves to the object of learning their language, through the medium of those who have left their country, and who still retain a knowledge of our language, might we not hope the first step would be made, of carrying the gospel to a land of so much interest, a land of so much darkness and cruelty, the land emphatically of death, that shall one day bloom with all the verdure of heaven?

"'Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God.' If we do not engage in the plan, some others will. And there are, not only in Jamaica, but there are those in Africa, who have made the same joyful and happy effort. The geographical problem has been solved by one who has fallen a victim to the persecutions of the diabolical slave-owners—the discovery of the river Niger; that discovery which has been just made in time for Africans to go back. One recently returned from that embassy assured me, that three hundred and fifty miles up that river, there is a town occupying a space almost as large as Liverpool, untrod by European foot, except his own; that there, being confined by sickness for three months, he lost not a single article, though they were extremely poor; that they worship one God, but to them he is an unknown God; they know not how to serve him; they know not that he sent his Son to die for them. Ignorantly they raise their voices unto him, but no idols yet pollute their tents. O! if in a few years ten or twenty of our black converts should go there —if plying up that mighty stream, they may be permitted to plant the banner of the cross in that large city, and there tell of Him who died, of Him who stretched out his hand unto them; and to assure them that he is no respecter of persons; then should we say, while we gratefully adore, 'He has done all things well.' Though secret things belong to him, though his designs stretch over a large compass, he is too wise to err, he is too good to be unkind. If, fellow-christians, when the last stain is washed by the returning tide—if when the last moan that the captive has uttered has retired with the breeze—there shall come a

voice from the isles of the west, speaking better things than the blood of Abel—there shall come those who proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison-door to them that are bound—if there are found there those who shall tell of Him who, though he was rich, yet for Africa's sake became poor, that they through his poverty might become rich: then shall we say indeed, Africa is compensated for all the wrongs that have been heaped so unjustly upon her."

THE END.

Printed by J. Rider, 14, Bartholomew Close, London.